

CAIEA
- E81

External Affairs V. 21, 1969



Digitized by the Internet Archive
in 2022 with funding from
University of Toronto



Government
Publications

A

EXTERNAL AFFAIRS

Monthly Bulletin of the Department of External Affairs

CANADA

Vol. XXI No. 1-12

In this Issue

January 1969

- DEC.

NORTH ATLANTIC TREATY ORGANIZATION

CANADIAN MINISTERIAL MISSION TO LATIN AMERICA

VISIT OF UN HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR REFUGEES

PEACE-KEEPING

VISIT TO CANADA OF GERMAN PARLIAMENTARY DELEGATION

External Affairs Publications

Department of External Affairs publications about Canada's external relations are available as follows :

1 Free, on request from the Information Division, Department of External Affairs, Ottawa :

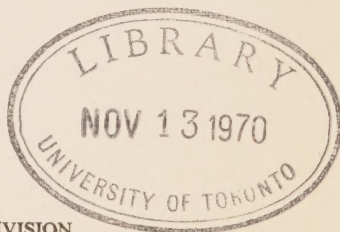
- Statements and Speeches
- Reference Papers
- Selected documents, reprints and other material produced from time to time on particular aspects of Canadian foreign policy
- Free publications of international organizations of which Canada is a member (NATO, OECD and the Colombo Plan)

2 By purchase from the Queen's Printer (information about these publications may be obtained from the Queen's Printer's Catalogue of Canadian Government Publications) :

- Annual Report of the Department of External Affairs
- Canada and the United Nations (annual)
- External Affairs Bulletin (monthly)
- Canadian Representatives Abroad and Representatives of Other Countries in Canada
- Diplomatic Corps
- Canada Treaty Series

For information, please write to:

INFORMATION DIVISION,
DEPARTMENT OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS,
OTTAWA, CANADA.



(See inside back cover for list of international organizations whose publications can be bought through the Queen's Printer.)

EXTERNAL AFFAIRS

*External Affairs is issued monthly in English and French by the
Department of External Affairs, Ottawa.*

*It provides reference material on Canada's external relations
and reports the current work and activities of the Department.*

Any material in this publication may be reproduced.

Citation of External Affairs as the source would be appreciated.

*Subscription rates : Canada, the United States and Mexico,
\$2.00 a year; other countries, \$2.50; students in Canada,
the United States and Mexico, \$1.00 a year; in other
countries, \$1.50. Subscriptions are sent post free.*

*Remittances, payable to the Receiver General of Canada,
should be sent to the Queen's Printer, Ottawa, Canada.*

*Authorized as Second Class Mail, Post Office Department,
Ottawa.*

Published by authority of
the Honourable Mitchell Sharp,
Secretary of State for External Affairs

Vol. XXI, No. 1

Contents

January 1969

North Atlantic Treaty Organization	2
Canadian Ministerial Mission to Latin America	15
Visit of UN High Commissioner for Refugees	19
Peace-Keeping	21
Visit to Canada of German Parliamentary Delegation	25
Canada and the World Weather Watch	28
Canadian Aid for the Aborigines of Malaysia	33
Human Environment	36
Canadian Gift to Vietnamese Children	44
Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development	46
IMCO Assembly and Council	49
<i>External Affairs in Parliament</i>	
<i>Ratification of Non-Proliferation Treaty</i>	51
<i>Conferences</i>	53
<i>Appointments, Transfers and Resignations in the</i>	
<i>Department of External Affairs and Foreign Service</i>	54

North Atlantic Treaty Organization

MINISTERIAL MEETING, BRUSSELS

The North Atlantic Council met in advanced session at the ministerial level, for the first time in the history of the alliance, on November 15 and 16, 1968. The meeting in Brussels was brought forward from its normal date of mid-December in response to the wish of the member governments for an early opportunity to discuss the situation resulting from the armed invasion and occupation of Czechoslovakia by Warsaw Pact forces under Soviet leadership. It was attended by foreign and defence ministers, as well as finance ministers from some member countries. The Canadian delegation was lead by the Secretary of State for External Affairs, the Honourable Mitchell Sharp, and the Minister of National Defence, the Honourable Léo Cadieux.

At the conclusion of the meeting the following communiqué was issued :

1. The North Atlantic Council met in Ministerial session in Brussels on 15th and 16th November. The meeting was attended by Foreign, Defence and Finance Ministers. The Council had moved forward from mid-December its normal year-end meeting so that Ministers might discuss at an earlier date the serious situation following the armed intervention in Czechoslovakia and the occupation of that country by forces of the Soviet Union and of four of its Warsaw Pact Allies.

2. Ministers reaffirmed the inviolability of the principle, which has been invoked on numerous occasions by every country, including the U.S.S.R., that all nations are independent and that consequently any intervention by one state in the affairs of another is unlawful.

They noted that this principle has been deliberately violated by the Soviet leaders with the backing of four of their allies. World opinion has been profoundly shocked by this armed intervention carried out against the wishes of the Government and people of Czechoslovakia. All the members of the Alliance have denounced this use of force which jeopardises peace and international order and strikes at the principles of the United Nations Charter. Like all other peoples, the people of Czechoslovakia must be free to shape their future without outside interference. Agreements concluded under the pressure of occupying forces can provide no justification for challenging this basic concept.

3. The contention of the Soviet leadership that there exists a right of intervention in the affairs of other states deemed to be within a so-called "Socialist Commonwealth" runs counter to the basic principles of the United Nations Charter, is dangerous to European security and has inevitably aroused grave anxieties. It gives rise to fears of a further use of force in other cases.

The use of force and the stationing in Czechoslovakia of Soviet forces not hitherto deployed there have aroused grave uncertainty about the situation and about the calculations and intentions of the U.S.S.R. This uncertainty demands great vigilance on the part of the Allies.

4. Applied to Germany the policies which the U.S.S.R. derives from its doctrine of a so-called "Socialist Commonwealth" raise new obstacles to the rapprochement and ultimate unification of the two parts of Germany. Moreover, they would be contrary to the letter and spirit of the Four Power agreements relating to Germany as a whole.

In this situation, and bearing in mind the special responsibilities of the United States, the United Kingdom and France, the Ministers reaffirm the determination of the Alliance to persevere in its efforts to contribute to a peaceful solution of the German question based on the free decision of the German people and on the interests of European security. Their Governments do not recognize the "G.D.R.", and they reject all claims which would tend to perpetuate the division of Germany against the will of the German people.

Referring to their communiqué issued in Reykjavik on June 25, 1968, the Ministers confirm the support of their Governments for the declared determination of the Three Powers to safeguard Berlin's security and to maintain freedom of access to the city. They recall the declaration of the North Atlantic Council of December 16, 1958, on Berlin and the responsibilities which each Member State assumed with regard to the security and welfare of Berlin. They note with satisfaction the important measures taken by the Federal Republic of Germany in conformity with the status of Berlin for the purpose of maintaining the viability of the city. They associate themselves with the position of the Three Powers as regards the legitimate concern of the Federal Government for the welfare and viability of Berlin and as regards the resulting ties which exist between the two on the basis of the arrangements in force.

The Ministers associate themselves with the call made upon the Soviet Union by the Three Powers to respect the quadripartite agreements concerning Berlin and the decisions taken pursuant to these agreements by the United States, France and the United Kingdom.

5. The new uncertainties resulting from recent Soviet actions also extend to the Mediterranean basin. This situation requires that the Allies continue by every available means their efforts to promote stability and a just and equitable peace, as well as mutual co-operation and understanding, in the area. The expansion of Soviet activity in the Mediterranean, including the increased presence of Soviet naval units, requires vigilance to safeguard allied security.

6. The members of the Alliance urge the Soviet Union, in the interests of world peace, to refrain from using force and interfering in the affairs of other states.

Determined to safeguard the freedom and independence of their countries, they could not remain indifferent to any development which endangers their security.

Clearly any Soviet intervention directly or indirectly affecting the situation in Europe or in the Mediterranean would create an international crisis with grave consequences.

7. So long as the Soviet leaders adhere to a policy of force, these new uncertainties will remain. The Allies are convinced that their political solidarity remains indispensable to discourage aggression and other forms of oppression. Above all, they stand wholly determined to meet their common responsibilities and, in accordance with the North Atlantic Treaty, to defend the members of the Alliance against any armed attack.

8. The Allies participating in NATO's integrated defence programme have, therefore, been obliged to re-assess the state of their defences. They consider that the situation arising from recent events calls for a collective response. The quality, effectiveness, and deployment of NATO's forces will be improved in terms of both manpower and equipment in order to provide a better capability for defence as far forward as possible. The quality of reserve forces will also be improved and their ability to mobilize rapidly will be increased. Renewed attention will be directed to the provision of reinforcements for the flanks and the strengthening of local forces there. The conventional capability of NATO's tactical air forces will be increased. Certain additional national units will be committed to the Major NATO Commanders. Specific measures have been approved within these categories of action for improving the conventional capability of NATO's forces. Ministers agreed that the co-ordinated implementation of these measures and the provision of additional budgetary resources to the extent necessary to support them would form part of the NATO Force Plan for 1969-1973 which will be submitted in January 1969. They also acknowledged that the solidarity of the Alliance can be strengthened by co-operation between members to alleviate burdens arising from balance of payments deficits resulting specifically from military expenditures for the collective defence.

9. A year ago Ministers affirmed in the Report on the Future Tasks of the Alliance that, while maintaining adequate military strength and political solidarity to deter any aggressor, the Alliance should work to promote a policy of *détente*. The Soviet intervention in Czechoslovakia has seriously set back hopes of settling the outstanding problems which still divide the European continent and Germany and of establishing peace and security in Europe, and threatens certain of the results already achieved in the field of *détente*. Indeed, in view of the action of the five members of the Warsaw Pact, the scope and level of Allied contacts with them have had to be reduced.

10. More specifically, prospects for mutual balanced force reductions have suffered a severe setback. Nevertheless, the Allies in close consultation are continuing their studies and preparations for a time when the atmosphere for fruitful discussions is more favourable.

11. In any event, consistent with Western values the political goal remains that of secure, peaceful and mutually beneficial relations between East and West. The Allies are determined to pursue this goal, bearing in mind that the pursuit of *détente* must not be allowed to split the Alliance. The search for peace requires progress, consistent with Western security, in the vital fields of disarmament and arms control and continuing efforts to resolve the fundamental issues which divide East and West.

12. The North Atlantic Alliance will continue to stand as the indispensable guarantor of security and the essential foundation for the pursuit of European reconciliation. By its constitution the Alliance is of indefinite duration. Recent events have further demonstrated that its continued existence is more than ever necessary. The Foreign Minister of France recalled that, for its part, unless events in the years to come were to bring about a radical change in East-West relations, the French Government considers that the Alliance must continue as long as it appears to be necessary.

13. The next Ministerial Meeting of the Council will be held in Washington on 10th and 11th April, 1969.



Canada's Secretary of State for External Affairs, the Honourable Mitchell Sharp (left), with the Honourable Léo Cadieux, Minister of National Defence, at the conference table during a session of the recent North Atlantic Council ministerial meeting in Brussels.

14. The Defence Planning Committee, which met in Ministerial Session on 14th November, will hold its next Ministerial Meeting in Brussels on 16th January, 1969.

On December 3, Mr. Sharp and Mr. Cadieux appeared before the Standing Committee on External Affairs and National Defence to report on the Brussels meeting. The following is the text of the opening statement made to the Committee by the Secretary of State for External Affairs :

From the outset the NATO ministerial meeting recently held in Brussels had a special character going well beyond the customary annual ministerial appraisal of the international situation and the state of the alliance. For the first time in the history of the alliance, the ministers assembled in advanced session to deal specifically with the implications of a serious international development — namely, the Soviet invasion and occupation of Czechoslovakia. They did so in circumstances contrasting strongly with those surrounding their last two meetings.

Less than a year ago, in December 1967, they had met in regular session to proclaim a new emphasis on *détente* in the alliance's future activities. This new emphasis, which was seen as an essential prelude to a negotiated settlement of outstanding European problems, seemed warranted by the improved climate of East-West relations and the results of a year of intensive studies by the alliance. These studies had produced what became known as the Harmel Report, named after the Foreign Minister of Belgium, who played a leading role in its evolution. The theme of the Harmel Report, which was formally adopted by NATO ministers a year ago, is that future alliance policy should be based on the twin conceptions of deterring possible aggression and seeking solutions for East-West problems through a dialogue with the Eastern European countries. In approving the Harmel Report, Canada subscribed to a new collective emphasis on improving the political atmosphere, on developing East-West contacts and on concrete moves in the sphere of disarmament and arms control. All of this was done without sacrificing the security of members of the alliance.

At Reykjavik five months later, the ministers carried their *détente* policy a stage further with the concrete offer of mutual and balanced force reductions. At the time this move was seen as the first in a series which would eventually enable the security of Europe to rest on some more durable foundation.

It is only in the light of this background that the profound effect of the Czechoslovakian affair, particularly on the European members of NATO, can be measured.

On the eve of their meeting in Brussels, the NATO ministers faced a difficult dilemma. By its actions the U.S.S.R. had dramatically rejected a conception of *détente* upon which all Western planning had been based. In addition to hopes of successful arms-limitation talks with the U.S.S.R., the Western conception of *détente* had assumed that there would be a gradual evolution within the Communist bloc towards more humane and open societies, together with a gradual establishment of healthy relations between Eastern and Western Europe.

There had been an underlying assumption on our part that the Soviet Union would acquiesce in these developments; certainly they were not expected to have recourse to force to impede them. This assumption proved wrong, and now there can only be serious doubts about how the Soviet Union will react to the changes which must inevitably occur in Eastern Europe. This new situation could affect Western interests indirectly, or even directly in the case of West Berlin, which is surrounded by the territory of the so-called German Democratic Republic.

Despite the setback the Soviet Union had dealt to their hopes, NATO member states realized there was no real long-term alternative to East-West understanding.

The question, therefore, was how could they most effectively bring some influence to bear on Soviet leaders? How could NATO register its condemnation of the Soviet Union's action in Czechoslovakia while still holding the door ajar to the resumed pursuit of peaceful and mutually beneficial relations between East and West, including progress in the vital fields of disarmament and arms control?

Since this was a problem shared by all members of the alliance, the opportunity which the Brussels meeting provided for consultation with other countries in similar circumstances demonstrated once again the value of the consultative aspect of NATO's activities. For Canada it was not only an occasion to hear the views of others, it also provided us with an opportunity to play a part in determining the kind of response which NATO should make to the Soviet intervention. In this way we can reasonably feel that we were able to influence the evolution of East-West relations in a direction that I believe reflected the views of Canadians — i.e., that NATO should respond in a firm yet restrained fashion.

It is a tribute to the alliance that it was possible to solve so effectively the dilemma of condemning Soviet action while still holding the door ajar, as well as to reconcile the nuances of difference with which 15 governments would naturally view a situation as complicated as the one which has been brought about in Eastern Europe. A sense of compromise founded on common purpose and the habit of consultation, together with the excellent preparatory work which preceded the Brussels meeting, made possible the balanced and restrained consensus which is set out in the communiqué issued at the end of the meeting

The discussion in Brussels had two principal elements. In the North Atlantic Council itself, foreign ministers examined the political aspects of the situation, while in the Defence Planning Committee the defence ministers of the 14 countries which contribute to NATO's integrated forces dealt with the military considerations. I shall be describing to you the results of the political discussion and Canada's approach to it, while my colleague, the Minister of National Defence, will deal with the military side.

It was the strong and unanimous view of the ministers that the Soviet Union's use of force in Czechoslovakia had not only jeopardized peace and international order but had also violated the basic right of the people of Czechoslovakia to shape their own future without outside interference. In view of earlier Canadian condemnation of Soviet action, you will not be surprised that we supported this approach by the Council.

There was also agreement that the use of force and the stationing in Czechoslovakia of Soviet forces not hitherto deployed there gave rise to uncertainty about the future intentions of the U.S.S.R. After all, the Soviet Union had demonstrated an impressive capability to bring substantial military force speedily to bear on a situation in Central Europe. Its decision to intervene with force in Czechoslovakia could not help but raise questions as to whether such an approach foreshadowed a new direction in Soviet policy for the future. It is hardly any wonder that, in the words of the communiqué, it was considered that this uncertainty required great vigilance on the part of the alliance. For us in Canada it is not always easy to put ourselves in the position of our European allies. However, I am sure that the reality of the concern and uncertainty felt by them will have been sensed by Members of Parliament who had the opportunity to attend the recent meeting of the North Atlantic Assembly, which happened by coincidence to be held in Brussels the same week as the ministerial meeting.

The ministers also expressed their concern about the Soviet contention, made following the invasion of Czechoslovakia, that there was a "Socialist Commonwealth" within which the U.S.S.R. had the right to intervene if it considered that developments in the area were inimical to its own interests. This concern, of course, paralleled our own, which I referred to earlier in the fall during my statement to the United Nations General Assembly on October 9. I said at that time that Canada could not accept that a community of interests, real or alleged, political, cultural or economic, entitled one country to take upon itself the right to interfere in the internal affairs of another. In the Commonwealth of Nations to which we belong, the right of national self-determination is so taken for granted that member countries are free to develop ties with any other countries, including socialist countries.

The doctrine of the Socialist Commonwealth is the antithesis of the principle of non-intervention recognized in the United Nations Charter. It is particularly disturbing for the implications it could have for attempts at *rapprochement* and the ultimate unification of the two parts of Germany. In this context, the ministers in Brussels confirmed the support of their governments for the declared determination of the United States, Britain and France to safeguard the security of Berlin and to maintain freedom of access to the city. This part of the communiqué represents a reaffirmation of existing commitments for Canada.

The ministers accepted that the uncertainties extended to the Mediterranean basin. They agreed that recent expansion of Soviet activity in that area required

continuing vigilance to ensure that the security of the alliance was not adversely affected. It was also accepted that there should be a continuing effort on the part of members of NATO to find political solutions for the problems of the region which would help to ensure its peaceful evolution.

The ministers agreed that, while the Soviet action in Czechoslovakia did not constitute a direct threat to NATO, the uncertainties regarding future Soviet intentions could not be ignored. The communiqué therefore reaffirmed the determination of their governments to defend members of the alliance against any armed attack, in accordance with the North Atlantic Treaty. It also observed that any Soviet intervention directly or indirectly affecting the situation in Europe or in the Mediterranean would create an international crisis with grave consequences.

It was considered that, in view of the new situation created in Eastern Europe, certain improvements in the military forces available to NATO would be desirable. The nature and extent of these improvements were discussed in the Defence Planning Committee and the Minister of National Defence will be describing that discussion to you in more detail.

I should like to emphasize, however, that the limited improvements envisaged for NATO's forces could not by any stretch of the imagination be considered provocative or an escalation of the arms race. Their immediate military purpose was to improve the ability of the alliance to cope with the uncertainties of the period ahead resulting from recent Soviet action. Behind this, they served the larger political purpose of demonstrating to Soviet leaders that recourse to force in solving European problems was unproductive; that the reaction which it would inevitably generate could only serve to complicate rather than ease the solution of present or future problems.

Having accepted the requirement to maintain appropriate defences, the ministers underlined with equal emphasis their unanimous view that *détente* remained as the long-term goal of the alliance. It was agreed that the Soviet action in Czechoslovakia had seriously set back hopes of settling the outstanding problems which divided Europe, but it was acknowledged that solutions for these problems, together with progress in arms control and disarmament, were essential elements in establishing a situation of lasting peace. In my own statement to the Council, I expressed the importance which Canada attached to continuing progress in the field of arms control and disarmament. I expressed the hope that the Non-Proliferation Treaty would not become a casualty of the events in Czechoslovakia and urged that early action be taken by all concerned to bring the Treaty into force as soon as possible. I also indicated our desire to see the important discussions between the United States and the Soviet Union on the limitation and reduction of offensive and defensive strategic arms begin as soon as possible.

The ministers agreed that continuing attention should be devoted by the alliance to arms control and disarmament so that progress could be resumed

as soon as circumstances permitted. The communiqué specifically noted that, while recent Soviet actions seemed to rule out any movement for the time being on the question of mutual force reductions, NATO should pursue its study of the issues involved so that it would be in a position to move ahead when more favourable circumstances prevail. Canada attaches particular importance to this element of the discussion in Brussels.

In conclusion, the ministers agreed that the North Atlantic Alliance would continue to stand as the guarantor of security and the essential foundation of European reconciliation. Recent events had further demonstrated that its continued existence was more than ever necessary.

In my statement to the North Atlantic Council, I said that, like others, we accepted that the threat to the alliance resulting from the Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia was an indirect one which faced NATO not with a problem of responding to premeditated aggression but rather of coping with the uncertainty and the possibility of miscalculation which recent Soviet conduct had fostered. In view of this situation, we agreed that NATO's continuing determination to resist any aggression directed against its members should be made clear, as well as the fact that the alliance could not be expected to remain indifferent to any further moves which even indirectly threatened its security.

While we accepted that it was natural in the existing circumstances to stress the defensive character of the alliance, we considered it was important that NATO should take advantage of all reasonable opportunities to resume the dialogue with the Soviet Union and thus to promote in due course progress toward the settlement of the issues facing Europe. We therefore supported the view that NATO's policy should be to keep open the option of normal relations with the U.S.S.R. against the day when the Soviet Union itself would recognize that such a course was in its own best interest. We urged that the communiqué should clearly reaffirm the alliance's pursuit of *détente*, together with the achievement of arms-control and disarmament measures, as its long-term objectives.

There is no doubt that, on the eve of the Brussels meeting, there was some concern on the part of the other members of the alliance regarding Canada's support for NATO. The events in Czechoslovakia had caused them to appreciate once again the value of NATO as a means of ensuring their security and they were naturally anxious that nothing should be done, particularly at this time, to detract from the solidarity of the alliance. By the time the meeting was over I think we were able to satisfy our allies that we shared their concern about the future security of Europe; that, although we were reviewing our foreign and defence policy, we should continue to live up to our commitments to NATO until such time as they might be altered; and that, if, in the future, the Government of Canada should consider changing our role in the alliance, we should, of course, consult with them.

In summary, the Canadian delegation to the Brussels meeting endeavoured

to reconcile two main objectives.

The first of these was to emphasize — in a measured and practical manner — our condemnation of Soviet action in Czechoslovakia.

The second was to co-operate with our allies in producing a response to this action which was designed to influence in a constructive way the thinking of Soviet leaders — to encourage them to resume the dialogue with the West rather than resort to the use of force in seeking solutions to problems.

The Minister of National Defence also made an opening statement to the Standing Committee, in which he said :

1. First, I should like to express my thanks to the Committee for inviting me to appear here today, and to say how pleased I am to have an opportunity to discuss with you the aftermath of the grave events of last August, and to go over with you in particular the meeting in Brussels attended by my colleague, the Secretary of State for External Affairs, and myself.

2. Before going into the defence aspects of the NATO ministerial meeting, you might find it helpful if I were to recall to your attention a little of the background and past history of Canada's defence involvement in NATO. In spite of our somewhat isolated geography, Canada has been involved during this century in two world wars and in several smaller ones. This experience has led to the acceptance by Canadians of two basic defence principles. First, that peace and prosperity for Canada depends on peace in the world and that Canadians have a responsibility to promote and preserve peace in the world; and, second, that the only sensible approach for Canada in the pursuit of peace is to work collectively with like-minded nations.

3. We applied these principles to Europe during the precarious decade following the Second World War. The prospects for continued peace were uncertain, and our European friends were in military and economic disarray. In the early years of NATO Canada responded, on the military side, to the pressing needs of co-operative defence by providing, under Mutual Aid, *matériel* sufficient to equip two and a half army divisions; we trained over 5,000 pilots; we provided over 1,000 aircraft and 25 naval ships. Forces were assigned or earmarked in all three environments: naval forces for service in the North Atlantic, a Brigade Group in Germany backed up by the balance of a division in Canada, and an Air Division in Central Europe.

4. As our allies have grown in strength and self-assurance under the climate of confidence made possible by the alliance, we have been able, in consultation with them, to reduce our share of the European defence burden, both as a proportion of the total effort and in absolute terms. Although our force commitments are now less than they were initially, this has been compensated to a significant degree by extensive improvements in weapons and equipment. The Canadian forces now based in Europe constitute a relatively small but militarily significant and identifiably Canadian contribution to alliance defence.

5. The stability engendered by the NATO alliance gave rise during the mid-60s to hopes for more normal relations with Eastern Europe, and even for some optimism regarding an eventual settlement in Europe. You will remember that the keynote of the NATO ministerial meeting a year ago in Brussels was the promotion of *détente* between East and West, and in Reykjavik in June we began to think in terms of an early start on negotiations with the Warsaw Pact countries for balanced reductions of forces. Unfortunately, efforts in this direction were thwarted by the tragic events of last August. The unwarranted invasion of Czechoslovakia gave all member nations cause to reflect on the adequacy of the alliance defences, and it was apparent during our meeting two weeks ago that a consensus had developed. There was general agreement that the new situation called for increased vigilance and a qualitative improvement wherever possible in currently committed forces. The Czech crisis created a mood of caution and concern, and re-emphasized the need for defence preparedness in the face of an uncertain future.

6. In my statement to the Defence Planning Committee, which you will recall is the Council-level committee of the 14 member nations participating in the integrated military command organization, I supported the consensus that qualitative improvements in our committed forces would constitute reasonable and prudent action at this time, and I discussed several measures that we are taking along this line.

7. For example, I mentioned the four helicopter-equipped destroyers and the two operational support ships now under construction. Since there has been some discussion about these vessels and their relation to NATO, I should like to explain to you our present plans for employing them after their construction is completed and they are commissioned into the Canadian Armed Forces. First of all, although support ships contribute a great deal to NATO's anti-submarine capability by enabling our ships to spend a higher proportion of time on active operations, they are not normally earmarked to NATO but remain under national command even in wartime. On the other hand, the four new destroyers would, in the normal course of events, be earmarked to the Supreme Allied Commander Atlantic (SACLANT) when they become operational. When this takes place, we plan to remove four of the older destroyer escorts from the list of forces now earmarked to SACLANT and retain them in the Canadian Forces for North American defence purposes only. Thus we are not at this time planning any increase in the number of ships committed to SACLANT, nor are we planning any extension in the normal area of operation of our NATO committed maritime forces (for example, in the Mediterranean), and our allies have been fully informed of our present intentions. The new destroyers will, of course, provide significant qualitative improvement in SACLANT forces. In discussing our contribution to SACLANT, I also referred to our destroyer-modification programme, and pointed out that this too would lead to qualitative improvements in NATO's anti-submarine warfare capabilities.

8. I drew attention to our programme of re-equipping the Brigade Group in Germany and indicated that we were giving high priority to its completion. This programme includes, for example, a substantial number of new reconnaissance vehicles, some new counter-mortar radars, a large number of new wheeled vehicles, and completion of the stockpiling of certain kinds of ammunition.

9. I pointed out that our reserve forces would be enhanced through improvements in training facilities and increased training intensity, and that we intended to continue the training of reserve personnel with the Brigade in Europe.

10. I announced that we had decided to participate in the 1969 exercise of the NATO ACE Mobile Force (Land) in the northern regions of Norway, as we had done on two previous occasions. We shall be providing a battalion group for this exercise, and we shall at this time also practice the strategic air and sea operational deployment of the unit to Norway.

11. Finally, I stated that we had deferred the final decision regarding our planned 20 percent reduction in the number of aircraft in the Air Division in Germany. I might add that, in private discussions with several of my NATO colleagues, I learned that Canada's reassurance regarding the Air Division was particularly appreciated.

12. To clear up one or two misconceptions about the Air Division, I should like to remind you that the CF-104-equipped squadrons are dual-capable, and we have available now in Europe stocks of conventional ordnance for these aircraft. They are capable of making an effective contribution to the strategy of flexible response adopted by NATO a year ago. This is a conception that we support in principle and one that we have catered for in our committed forces. The Canadian Air Division is among the finest in NATO, and I should not hesitate to stand it beside any such formation in the world. Our CF-104 pilots, supported by the whole of the complex organization of the Air Division, have repeatedly taken the honours at NATO training competitions. The same applies to our ground forces in EUROPE — there are none better. When I spoke in Brussels, I mentioned that our military forces are all professionals, and I assured our allies that we are maintaining them at their high standard of equipment, training, and operational readiness.

13. On the defence side, the main purpose of the meeting two weeks ago was to reaffirm alliance resolve, in the aftermath of the Czech crisis, to stand together against aggression directed at any of its members, and to consult on specific measures being taken to ensure that the necessary defences are maintained. Canada joined with the other members of the alliance both in reaffirming this intention and in maintaining and improving Canada's defence contribution as I have outlined to you.

14. While I am before you, I should like to say a word or two about Canadian security in relation to NATO. The major threat to the security of Canada and the Canadian people comes from the prospect of an intercontinental

nuclear exchange arising out of a conflict of interest or of ideology between the super-powers. The forum where super-power interests most closely impinge on each other is Europe, and hence Europe is the geographical region where Canada's security is most in jeopardy. Thus, Canada's security is very closely interlocked with the security of Europe. These are inescapable facts of the world we live in. In the past we considered it to be in the interests of Canadian national security to meet the challenge through our participation in NATO. How we meet the challenge in the future is one of the very important considerations of the defence review. But I would ask you to remember this, the defence review cannot remove the challenge.

15. Perhaps I might finish by repeating to you my closing remarks to the Defence Planning Committee two weeks ago. At that meeting I said :

The Czechoslovak affair has demonstrated to all of us the importance of a collective approach to defence problems. Canada's history of the last half-century amply attests to our enthusiastic support of such an approach and has shown our willingness to make an effective contribution every time it was required. Collective security continues to be the guiding principle of Canadian defence policy.

Canadian Ministerial Mission to Latin America

A STATEMENT BY THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR

EXTERNAL AFFAIRS, THE HONOURABLE MITCHELL SHARP,

IN THE HOUSE OF COMMONS ON NOVEMBER 29, 1968.

THE ministerial mission to Latin America returned to Ottawa on Wednesday of this week. I wish today to make a brief statement about the mission and its work, a mission which I am convinced marks a turning-point in our relations with Latin America.

The House will recall that, shortly before the mission left Canada, the Prime Minister stated that its purpose was to assist the Government in its review of policy toward Latin America, a part of the world with which we believe Canada should develop closer relations. The mission's main tasks were as follows :

- To explore the common benefits that might result from closer relations with Latin America;

- to explore all important aspects of Canada's relations with Latin America — political, economic and cultural;

- to demonstrate our desire to draw closer to Latin American countries on a bilateral basis and the importance we attach to our relations with the hemisphere as a whole;

- to enable ministers to have direct consultations with important Latin American leaders and to observe at first hand developments in some of the more important Latin American countries;

- to review not only relations with the Latin American countries but also world issues in which we and they have a common interest; and,

- to make Canada better known in Latin America, and to establish a basis for better understanding of Latin America on the part of Canadians.

The Government felt that, to accomplish these objectives, it was necessary to send ministers who could speak with authority on matters of foreign policy, trade and economic questions and cultural affairs, supported by a strong team of officials drawn from the departments and agencies of government principally concerned with our relations with Latin America. To gain a broad perspective on our relations with Latin America, the mission visited as many countries of that area as possible.

Ministerial Members

At one time or another five ministers took part in the mission. They were the Minister of Industry, Trade and Commerce; the Minister of Energy, Mines and

Resources: the Secretary of State, and Mr. Otto Lang, Minister without Portfolio with responsibilities in the field of industry, trade and commerce. My Parliamentary Secretary (Mr. Jean-Pierre Goyer) also took part. We so arranged our time that at least three of us were present in each country. In this way, our three main areas of interest — political, economic and cultural — were always well covered.

Ministers were supported by senior officials of the Department of External Affairs, the Department of Industry, Trade and Commerce, and the Department of the Secretary of State, as well as of the Canadian International Development Agency, the Export Credits Insurance Corporation, the Canada Council, the National Gallery, the National Film Board and the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation. Most of these officials were with the mission throughout the tour.

The mission visited nine countries : six in South America (Argentina, Brazil, Chile, Colombia, Peru and Venezuela); one in North America (Mexico); and two in Central America (Costa Rica and Guatemala). The tour lasted approximately one month.

In each country ministers were received by the President and had a series of meetings with ministers of the host government. In most countries we talked with leading members of the legislative bodies and with some representatives of regional and international organizations. Certain officials had individual meetings or made brief side visits, sometimes to neighbouring countries not covered by the official itinerary. In all these meetings a very wide range of subjects was discussed in considerable depth.

Political Talks

In the political field, we discussed hemispheric questions and current international issues. In the trade and economic field we discussed trade in the multilateral context, bilateral trade, financing and investment. Everywhere we went we found that development is a main preoccupation of government. In the cultural sphere, to which the Latin Americans also attach great importance, we explored a wide spectrum of activities, ranging from scientific research to film-production. I should like to emphasize that our discussions related to concrete possibilities as much as to general policies and procedures.

While we worked mainly with governments, we paid special attention to private institutions which, both in Latin America and in Canada, have an important role to play in developing our relations. We had meetings, for example, with chambers of commerce, with university rectors, with museum directors and leading experts in the arts. We met with Canadian businessmen and with Canadian missionaries, religious and lay, and with other volunteer workers. In all these meetings we were greatly impressed by the importance of the part which private individuals and groups can play in the pursuit of goals shared by the peoples of Canada and Latin America.

In every country we visited we were offered a warm and most hospitable

reception. The atmosphere in our talks was at all times cordial, frank and, as a rule, quite informal. The scope and, frequently, the depth of our exchanges were striking; we entered into a dialogue which we intend to continue.

Our mission was widely publicized in all the countries visited. Good coverage was afforded by the press as well as by radio and television stations. The presence of the mission was felt in Latin America.

There is one feature of the mission which I should like to mention. The mission was an excellent projection abroad of the Canada of to-day. Almost every member of the mission was bilingual in French and English. In addition, many could speak Spanish or Portuguese.

The mission has amassed a great deal of valuable information and has formed impressions and tentative opinions which will clearly be of great assistance to the Government when completing its review of relations with Latin America. The substantial preparations for the mission and the work of the mission itself constituted the first phase of that review. Much has been accomplished in this first phase. Some projects which can be advanced under present policies and procedures have been identified; a few of these have been carried to completion, and the others will be followed up without delay.

Mexico-Canada Committee

One example is the establishment of a Joint Mexico-Canada Committee for the consideration of matters of common interest to the two countries in the political, economic and commercial fields. The Committee may also consider other matters, such as, for example, cultural relations. I wish now to table, in English and in French, the note on this subject which I signed and handed to the Foreign Minister of Mexico when the ministerial mission was in that country. This note, and the note which the Foreign Minister signed and handed to me in reply, constitute an agreement establishing the Committee.

I am glad to be able to report that the mission accomplished the objectives set by the Prime Minister before its departure. It is the desire of the Government to determine, in the shortest possible time, how present possibilities may be translated into action within the framework of our broader foreign policy review. The members of the ministerial mission will now reflect on what they have found and seen and heard and will shortly make a report to the Government.

I should like to make clear that it is the intention of the Government, before completing its review of policy toward Latin America, to consult individuals and groups within the Canadian community which have an interest in Latin America and, in Parliament, to submit the review to critical examination in Committee. In this process, the Government will welcome presentations and representations from all sides. I should add that the ministerial mission itself has given a new impetus to the development of Canadian relations with the countries of Latin America.

I am sure that I speak on behalf of all members of this House when

I once again express to the governments and peoples of the countries we visited our sincere thanks and deep appreciation for the reception they accorded to the ministerial mission. To the governments and peoples of the countries of Latin America which the mission was not able to visit I should like to say that, in undertaking our voyage in Latin America, we were extending the hand of friendship to them also.

I should like to take this opportunity to express my warm appreciation, and that of all members of the mission, for the excellent arrangements made for us by our own embassies in the capitals we visited. Their care and diligence on our behalf was indeed praiseworthy

Visit of UN High Commissioner for Refugees

ON DECEMBER 9 and 10, 1968, the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, His Highness Prince Sadruddin Aga Khan, paid an official visit to Ottawa. The purpose of the visit was to review the activities of the UNHCR in assisting refugees in many parts of the world, and to discuss the 1969 programme of his Office with the Minister for Manpower and Immigration, the Honourable Allan MacEachen, and the Secretary of State for External Affairs, the Honourable Mitchell Sharp, and government officials.

The Office of the High Commissioner for Refugees was established by the UN General Assembly in December 1949 to replace the International Refugee Organization, which had previously protected the interests of refugees. Prince Sadruddin, who was originally appointed for a term of three years in 1962, has recently been re-appointed for a five-year period ending December 31, 1973. The terms of reference laid down by the General Assembly for the UNHCR have also been extended. Conceived originally as a non-operational agency limited mainly to the international protection of refugees, the Office of the High Commissioner is now authorized to appeal for funds and to conduct programmes which provide relief and rehabilitation for the most needy groups of refugees within its mandate.

UNHCR Budget

The 31-member Executive Committee of the UNHCR, of which Canada is a member, has recently approved the 1969 programme involving a record expenditure of \$5.6 million (U.S.). This amount is \$1 million more than in 1968. The contribution of \$370,000 in 1969, increased from \$324,074 in 1968, places Canada third, behind the United States and Sweden, in contributions to the High Commissioner's programme.

The largest part of this budget will be spent in Africa, particularly in the Democratic Republic of the Congo (\$876,000) and the Sudan (\$820,000). In addition, some \$500,000 will be used to improve primary education facilities for Congolese, Rwandese and Sudanese refugees in Uganda. Funds will also be used to provide relief for refugees from the Nigerian civil war in Gabon, Togo, Dahomey and Ghana. During his visit to Ottawa, the High Commissioner expressed particular satisfaction with the African programme. Of approximately 100,000 refugees in Africa, only about 70,000 are still receiving food rations; the others have already been integrated into the economies and societies of the countries in which they have sought asylum.

In Asia, a major allocation (\$300,000) has been made to assist in settling aged and handicapped Tibetan refugees in India. The UNHCR has recently established an office in New Delhi to participate in this programme. Considerable

work is also being done among Chinese refugees in Hong Kong and Macao.

In Latin America, \$315,000 will be spent in 1969 to provide relief and rehabilitation for 115,000 refugees from the Caribbean and other areas.

Allocations for European countries at present call for only \$481,000, although this amount may have to be increased as a result of recent events in Czechoslovakia. This relatively small expenditure reflects the increased ability of European countries to care for the refugees within their borders without international assistance. It was noted, however, that the UNHCR continues to provide legal protection to these, as well as all other, refugees under the terms of the International Convention on the Status of Refugees (1951). The Canadian Government is at present making the final arrangements for the accession of Canada to this Convention and the 1965 Protocol, in addition to the 1957 Hague Agreement on Refugee Seamen.

Peace-Keeping

The following is a statement by the Representative of Canada, Mr. J. P. Goyer, M.P., Parliamentary Secretary to the Secretary of State for External Affairs, in the Special Political Committee of the United Nations General Assembly on the Report of the Special Committee on Peacekeeping Operations, December 17, 1968 :

Canada's association with United Nations peacekeeping efforts reaches back to the early days of this organization. At San Francisco, the Canadian delegation was among those which held particularly high hopes for the role of the United Nations in the maintenance of international peace and security. We strove, along with other delegations, to ensure that the wartime alliance would provide a firm foundation for the building of a new world organization. The result of our efforts was the United Nations Charter, which reflects today, as it did in 1945, mankind's desire to live in a world of peace in which human energies can be fully devoted to political, economic and social development.

The United Nations has, over the years, made an increasingly significant contribution in all these areas, not least in the maintenance of peace and security, even though the methods chosen on an *ad hoc* basis have been somewhat different from those envisaged in the Charter. There is irony in the fact that, while we are exhorted in the Preamble of the Charter to "unite for peace", arrangements for keeping the peace under the auspices of this organization have often led to serious divisions within the membership. No useful purpose is served now by recalling how those divisions came about, or whether they could have been avoided. The historians of the world will provide the answers to these questions in good time.

What is of primary interest now, in the light of the complex and contentious history of United Nations peacekeeping efforts, is whether a point has at last been reached from which we can move ahead and enhance the peacekeeping capacity of this organization through accommodation of differing viewpoints. If this can be done, it will be not only a diplomatic achievement but, more important, a practical achievement of long-term value to the organization. And, needless to say, such progress should take place on the basis that it does not prejudice the different positions of member states on constitutional issues relating to the respective roles and responsibilities of the Security Council and of the General Assembly.

Assessing Possibility of Progress

In looking at the situation in this way I am, of course, influenced by the experience of my delegation in recent months. As a member of the working group of the Special Committee on Peacekeeping Operations, the Canadian delegation

has had a particular opportunity to assess the extent to which progress can now be made, without prejudice to constitutional positions, in dealing with many practical problems posed by the establishment, financing and preparation of peacekeeping operations and observer missions. My delegation can honestly say that the indications we noticed a year ago of the beginnings of a willingness to compromise, of some movement towards more flexible positions, have continued to be evident in the deliberations of the Committee of 33 and in its working group. This fortunate state of affairs can and, I believe, will be maintained if we all remain convinced of each other's genuine desire to make progress on this matter. This is simply a question of confidence in each other's intentions, for without that state of mutual confidence we could not hope to achieve anything on the basis of a consensus.

It is against this background that my delegation would ask the Special Political Committee to consider the reports now before it from the Special Committee on Peacekeeping Operations. It will be noted that the Committee's working group has sought and received from the Secretariat some very detailed and useful material relating to a number of observer missions established or authorized by the Security Council for observation purposes, pursuant to Security Council resolutions. While, regrettably, this material is still in the process of being put in final form and is therefore not generally available, my delegation believes that the preparation of this material in itself already represents a step forward; and that the Secretariat material will undoubtedly provide an excellent basis for future consultations among members of the working group and of the Committee of 33 when they endeavour to prepare a model of what an observer mission, in all its aspects, should be.

Value of Observer Teams

The fact that the Committee of 33, through its working group, has concentrated its attention in recent months on observer missions results from a number of factors and is no reflection, of course, on the contribution which full-scale peacekeeping operations have made in the past. Nevertheless, in terms of the future, my delegation is inclined to the view that a study of observer missions is the most useful thing which we can be doing at this time. As my delegation sees it, the possibility in the relatively near future of further observer missions being established is somewhat greater than that of another large peacekeeping force, such as UNFICYP. There are obviously a variety of political and financial considerations, among others, affecting such a determination. What is to be remembered, however, is that in 1965, when the Article 19 crisis was still very much in our minds, it was possible for this organization to set up UNIPOM, a highly useful observer mission with specific terms of reference for the supervision of the withdrawal of troops following the India-Pakistan conflict that year; and that, in 1967, when the question of Article 19 was no longer being raised in respect of two major peacekeeping operations in the past, UNTSO was given

a new role in the Suez Canal sector and was strengthened in a manner generally acceptable to the Security Council. My delegation suggests that there may well be other occasions when observer missions, offering a maximum of international presence for a minimum of expense, can make a constructive contribution to international peace and security.

It would be wrong, of course, to think that our present preoccupation in the Committee of 33 with observer missions in all their aspects rules out consideration of other problems of peace-keeping. We recall that the original mandate of the Special Committee was a very broad and comprehensive one. The question of how to arrange for the financing of peace-keeping in the future on a basis consistent with the principle of collective responsibility has always loomed very large in our deliberations; and it continues to pose a challenge to all delegations concerned with the ability of the United Nations to engage in peacekeeping activities. The Canadian delegation, for one, is still interested, at the appropriate time, in co-operating with other delegations in setting forth guide-lines for the apportionment of expenses of peacekeeping operations involving heavy expenditures. The possibility of a special scale for the developing countries in such a situation and the possible establishment of a Finance Committee to make recommendations on the nature of that scale are both ideas still worthy of consideration. In fact, as far as future financing is concerned, all the basic elements for some sort of understanding exist; they have been discussed many times now in the Committee of 33 and outside it, as well as during the debates of the General Assembly for several years. We should hope that it would not be too long before all the essential elements could be brought together in a proposal on future financing which could achieve general support.

While speaking of other possibilities to be pursued, I cannot fail to recall the interest of my delegation in seeking ways and means to give the Military Staff Committee a more active role. We still think it unfortunate that the expertise represented in that Committee should go unused when there are so many aspects of the question of peace and security which deserve attention. As we have had occasion to mention on other occasions, the Military Staff Committee, although provided for in Chapter VII of the Charter, is not, in our view, precluded by any specific provision of the Charter from doing work which could be of benefit both in the field of enforcement action, which falls clearly under Chapter VII, as well as in the field of preparations for peacekeeping operations which are of a non-enforcement and voluntary nature.

Canadian Views

I hope that it will not seem immodest if I take this opportunity to draw attention to the national contributions made to our study of peace-keeping in the Committee of 33. These have appeared in Documents A/AC.121/11 through 19 and are all, I believe, well worth examination by delegations with past experience in peace-keeping, as well as those possessing a present and future interest in the

subject. The Canadian commentary in Document A/AC.121/17 represents a very considerable effort to set down our views about the meaning of peace-keeping, as well as the technical details. It is in the section on training particularly that the Canadian authorities have endeavoured to outline clearly what peace-keeping is all about, and what sort of people are required for it. There is also a wealth of detail in our commentary on the arrangements which need to be made in advance, including an example of a standard status-of-forces agreement.

In concluding this general review of the state of peace-keeping at the twenty-third session, I have taken into account our past experience and our hopes for the future. Our hopes are based on the belief that the divisions of the past, particularly among the major powers represented in this organization, will at last be bridged so that future peace-keeping can be carried out on a generally acceptable basis. I must say also that our hopes for the future will be greatly enhanced if the long-standing deficit in the United Nations budget as a result of past disagreements over the financing of peacekeeping operations is once and for all eliminated. We regret very much the continued existence of this problem, which undermines confidence in our organization and has a depressing effect on all those who have done their best to support the United Nations financially and in every other way. I would therefore appeal to those member states which have not yet done so to consider what contribution they can make, and soon, in response to the consensus reached on September 1, 1965 — a consensus which has been endorsed by Resolutions 2053(A)XX, 2249 (S-V) and 2308 (XXII). As we approach the twenty-fifth anniversary of the United Nations, the appropriateness of magnanimous gestures to this organization can only increase. I should like to express the wish, therefore, that, before the twenty-fifth anniversary is reached, those additional necessary voluntary contributions will have been made so that the existing deficit will be eliminated; and so that the future may be faced, as the Secretary-General has frequently urged, with renewed hope and confidence.

Visit to Canada of German Parliamentary Delegation

IN THE autumn of 1968, the Canadian Parliament had a welcome opportunity to repay some of the hospitality extended on past occasions by their German colleagues. A parliamentary delegation from the Federal Republic of Germany, led by the President of the Bundestag, Dr. Eugen Gerstenmaier, visited Canada from October 3 to 12 on the invitation of the Speaker of the House of Commons, the Honourable Lucien Lamoureux. The delegation of three included representatives of the Christian Democratic, Social Democratic and Free Democratic Parties. Their nine-day programme in Canada took them almost 9,000 miles, in the course of which they visited centres in Quebec, Ontario, Alberta and the Yukon Territory.

Welcomed on arrival in Montreal by Mr. Lamoureux, the delegation flew next day to Edmonton, where Dr. Gerstenmaier and his colleagues were received by the Lieutenant-Governor, Dr. J. W. Grant MacEwan, and by Premier E. C. Manning, their host at a lunch given by the Alberta government. Following



The Speaker of the Canadian House of Commons, Mr. Lucien Lamoureux (left), welcomes the President of the German Bundestag, Dr. Eugen Gerstenmaier, to Montreal.

the lunch, the Bundestag President, an enthusiastic sportsman, left for Whitehorse to take part in a three-day hunting party arranged by Commissioner James Smith of the Yukon. The rest of the delegates travelled through the Rocky Mountains national parks, visiting Jasper, Lake Louise and Banff. At Calgary, on October 7, where they were rejoined by Dr. Gerstenmaier, a reception and dinner were given in their honour jointly by the Speaker of the Alberta Legislature, the Honourable Arthur Dixon, and by the City of Calgary.

Ottawa Agenda

On October 8, the delegation arrived in Ottawa, where an official Parliamentary reception and dinner were given the same evening by the Speaker of the House of Commons. The next two days were spent largely in discussions with Canadian Parliamentarians, party leaders and Cabinet Ministers. The delegation met the Honourable R. L. Stanfield, Leader of the Opposition, and Mr. David Lewis, Leader of the New Democratic Party, and had discussions with External Affairs Minister Mitchell Sharp, Acting Minister of Trade and Commerce Otto Lang, Privy Council President D. S. Macdonald and Defence Production Minister Arthur Laing.

At Government House on October 9, Governor-General and Mrs. Michener received Dr. Gerstenmaier and his colleagues at a lunch attended by the Prime Minister. The delegates visited the House of Commons during question period and a sitting of the Senate, and were recognized in the Commons and Senate Galleries. In the Senate they were received by Mr. Speaker Deschatelets and by the Government Leader, the Honourable Paul Martin.

On October 11, the delegation visited Toronto, where a lunch was given by the President of the Metropolitan Toronto Board of Trade, and Kitchener, where delegates visited the University of Waterloo. Later that day, the combined German clubs of Kitchener arranged a dinner and an evening of entertainment in honour of the visitors.

Next day, Dr. Gerstenmaier was received at Waterloo Lutheran University by the Chancellor, W. Ross Macdonald, Lieutenant-Governor of Ontario, and at a lunch, attended also by the Lieutenant-Governor, given by the Kitchener and Waterloo Chambers of Commerce. Returning to Montreal before departure that evening on their return flight to Germany, the German delegates were joined by Mr. Speaker Lamoureux and a number of Canadian Parliamentarians to wish them *bon voyage* and an early return.

Parliamentary Visit Increase

Although last October's visit was the first by an official German delegation German parliamentarians have been coming to Canada with increasing frequency in recent years. More than 20 Bundestag members came to Canada in 1967 to visit Expo 67 and Ottawa, or to study such matters as postal administration and education. There has also been a growing number of visits to Canada by

ministers, including Agricultural Minister Höcherl, Post Minister Dollinger and Scientific Research Minister Stoltenberg in 1967, and Defence Minister Schroeder in 1968. In addition, there was the visit in 1964 of Chancellor Erhard and in 1967 of President Lübke. Visits to the Federal Republic by Canadian ministers and Parliamentarians have also been frequent. The Secretary of State for External Affairs, Mr. Paul Martin, Trade and Commerce Minister Winters and Agricultural Minister Greene were in Bonn in 1967. Visitors in 1968 included Defence Minister Cadieux and Finance Minister Benson and a number of Parliamentarians.

The growing number of parliamentary visits taking place is a further indication of the strong ties linking the two countries.

Canada and the World Weather Watch

TO the sailor on a stormy sea, the airman approaching dark thunder-heads, and the resort-owner relying desperately on snow or sun, the weather is of crucial importance. Yet, despite its obvious influence on human activities, people tend to disregard the sometimes subtle but ever-present relations between weather and climate and our daily living and livelihood.

Although man has been exposed to the vagaries of the weather throughout the ages and has been forced to adapt his life and habits to them, only in relatively modern times has he seriously examined the ingredients and habits of the weather. The art of weather forecasting has been practised since the dawn of civilization but the science of meteorology is barely a century old. In this brief period, the atmosphere has been examined and measured, its changing nature has been observed and recorded. New instruments give more detailed and accurate data on temperature, radiation and turbulence.

Every nation in the world, large or small, whatever its location, shares with other nations a common concern for this vital influence, the weather, which moves across the earth's surface without regard for national boundaries or international agreements.

Daily Observations

Every day of the year about 100,000 observations of the weather are made at the earth's surface and another 11,000 observations are made of conditions in the upper atmosphere. These are selected from the national observing networks of the world's weather services for international exchange through regional and continental centres. Great care is taken to ensure that all observations are taken simultaneously at standard times, that the methods and procedures used, and even the order of observing and form of the coded messages, conform to international practice. Eight thousand land stations report regularly, as well as 3,000 transport aircraft and 4,500 ships. This fund of information feeds into forecast offices, research centres and climatological bureaux throughout the world, where it is analyzed, processed, examined and re-examined, and stored in rapid retrieval systems for application to the myriad problems waiting to be solved.

Much of the early progress in the development of organized weather services was due to sailors, for in the days of sailing ships a good seaman had of necessity to be a good observer and a shrewd judge of weather. The frequent loss of ships in violent storms brought marine officials together in Brussels in 1853 to arrange a system of weather reporting from ships with the help of the newly-developed wireless telegraph. From these first primitive steps in international co-operation grew the International Meteorological Organization established at a meeting in Holland in 1873, which in 1951 became the World Meteorological Organization (WMO), a Specialized Agency of the United Nations.

Meteorological Co-operation

Our restless atmosphere, flowing freely over continent and sea, imposes the dependence of every nation on others for knowledge of the forthcoming weather. Every national meteorological service, large or small, relies upon an international system for the prompt and frequent exchange of weather observations. From steady growth in the numbers of stations and an increasing modernization and sophistication of observing techniques has evolved today's global observing system. The need for information in a rapid, timely and co-ordinated flow has led to an increasingly modern international meteorological communications system. And the benefits evident in a mutual sharing of the processing of data into forecasts and warnings of severe weather for international shipping and aviation have resulted in a worldwide international maritime weather service and a number of arrangements for integrated services to international aviation that afford an admirable pattern for international co-ordination and co-operation.

In recent years the new developments in satellite observing and electronic data-processing, in automatic sensing systems and communications techniques, have made it increasingly clear that the full exploitation of these modern developments could lead to a breakthrough in the science of meteorology. The UN resolution proposing a concerted effort to capitalize on the potential of these new facilities was quickly seized upon by the World Meteorological Organization and turned into a plan for a reorganized and revitalized world weather system.

World Weather Watch Aims

This new world system was given the name "World Weather Watch" and its published Plan and Implementation Programme stated its purpose as follows :

The purpose of the World Weather Watch is to enable the unprecedented opportunities which now present themselves for progress in the atmospheric sciences to be seized and to enable all members to derive the full benefits from the improved meteorological services which such progress will make possible. Such improvements will have a profound impact on the agriculture, commerce and industry of all nations and will permit more accurate and timely warnings of severe storms and other weather hazards, for the protection of life and property. It will further the safety and efficiency of international air and sea transportation and provide essential support to nations in the management of water resources and food production.

In designing an improved world weather system, the deficiencies in the present system must first be known. A series of surveys has made it clear that the major limitation to meteorological progress is the lack of adequate observations of the earth's atmosphere. This lack prevents a full understanding of the processes in the atmosphere and greatly reduces the accuracy and value of forecasts and other weather services, especially in the many regions where data are sparse. Over ocean areas the problem is particularly difficult. Merchant ships recruited to take observations usually travel in established shipping lanes and large parts of the 71 per cent of the earth surface covered by oceans are rarely observed. Even the taking of observations of the pulse of the atmosphere

— its temperature and wind, the nature of the waves, and the water temperature, for instance — are uniquely difficult from a moving ship.

Global Observing System

To remedy the weaknesses in observations from sea and land, a global observing system has been developed that seeks to correct the deficiencies in the present system and incorporates the newer techniques. Many studies and intensive design and development work are in progress. Moored and free-floating ocean buoys are being tested; other forms of automated equipment for use at isolated stations are becoming more adaptable, more sophisticated and more costly.

Deficiencies in theoretical knowledge, weaknesses in the definitions covering the precise nature of data and the density of observing networks needed and in techniques for processing the data into usable and useful services have been identified and allocated for thorough study and solution to leading scientists in many countries.

The necessity for rapid and efficient communication of meteorological information has led to planning meetings, problem projects and development of new techniques. The plan for a new global telecommunications system calls for a reliable global system on a three-level basis; high-speed main-trunk circuits between world centres, regional networks, and national meteorological communications networks. Modern equipment and new facilities will be incorporated into the design of the system so that every country will obtain the observed and processed data it needs with the least possible delay. The capacity of satellites for efficient collection and relay of data from isolated points on the earth's surface is one of the newer methods being fully explored and tested.

Although mutually-helpful arrangements have been made between neighbouring countries or groups of countries in which forecasts, analyzed weather charts and similar processed material are exchanged, the World Weather Watch introduces a system by which co-operation and efficiency are fully exploited. World meteorological centres at Washington, Moscow and Melbourne are responsible for providing global analyses of weather patterns and large-scale, long-range forecasts of the basic processes taking place. Regional meteorological centres (one to be located in Montreal) will serve many of the common needs of countries and avoid much duplication of effort within a region, and national meteorological centres, operated by individual nations, will, in turn, provide the full range and number of weather services appropriate to the needs and the developing resources of each country.

This three-level system follows closely the pattern established in Canada some years ago in which a Central Analysis Office in Montreal is responsible for studying the large-scale atmosphere and for feeding its charts and advice by facsimile — a chart-transmission technique — to offices across the country. Weather centrals located at strategic points provide more detail and close support to the dozens of weather offices in Canada's major cities and industria

areas which provide a broad range and surprising volume of weather services to meet Canadian needs.

The World Weather Watch plan is undoubtedly ambitious, and technically possible, but can this vast renovation and modernization be brought about and will the cost and effort be justified? These questions have been thoroughly considered and every avenue of technology and source of resources explored. It has become increasingly apparent that the need for improvements in advice on weather is becoming a necessity. By the end of the present century, the world's population will probably have more than doubled and, even without improvement in the present level of world nutrition, food production must double to meet the needs of the year 2,000. It is widely recognized that climate determines what will grow, and that the yearly weather determines how much. Many developing countries are faced with problems of soil deficiency, poor water supplies, low-yield crop varieties and plant and animal disease. All need precise information. Advance knowledge of weather conditions can help prevent costly mistakes in planning, in selecting the crop, or the site, whether it be for farming, roads, factories, or cities.

The most urgent task facing the world's weathermen is to provide the information and the guidance that will enable the agricultural scientists and the farmers to explore and exploit the world's full capabilities for food production. Through an understanding of the close relations between weather and crop, animal, fowl, fruit and vegetable, and the choice of site, soil and climate for each, the weather can be used to advantage and its hazards to a full harvest kept to a minimum. Particularly in the developing countries, where population is rising rapidly and the level of nutrition is lower, agriculture must respond so that nations will have adequate and dependable food supplies for their survival and peaceful development.

The World Weather Watch holds a hope and a promise that the meteorologist will play his full role in the Freedom-from-Hunger Campaign, and in this support of the scientific community in its search for new and better methods for increasing the world's supply of food.

In implementing the World Weather Watch, each nation is expected to make the improvements in observations and other activities called for in the plan for its territory, so far as possible. Help, where essential, is to be provided by the United Nations Development Programme, by direct assistance from one or more other countries and through contributions to a Voluntary Implementation Fund from which appropriate aid will be deployed and arranged by the World Meteorological Organization.

Canada's Contribution

Canada has informed the Secretary-General of the WMO that it plans to provide the few additional observing stations needed in accordance with the World Weather Watch plan, and that its communications system, already unique in

its capability, is shortly to be converted to an automated system. The WMO Secretary-General has also been informed in detail of the Canadian meteorological research and training programmes. Fellowships are offered when requests are received from governments with which Canada has bilateral agreements covering foreign aid. The Canadian Government has also decided to contribute \$500,000 over the next four years towards the implementation of the World Weather Watch. This contribution will assist developing countries with their projects and will be in addition to Canada's normal foreign aid contributions. The assistance will be provided directly to the needy countries, selected from those that have informed WMO that they cannot carry out the improvements required of them by the World Weather Watch plan.

Canada, through its continuing concentration on orderly advancement of the science of meteorology and application of modern tools to improve its way of operating as rapidly as is appropriate to its development programme, is providing guide-lines for other countries to follow.

It is hoped that by 1988 the world will be accustomed to reliable weekly, monthly and seasonal forecasts, and a modest control over continental storms and damaging hurricanes. Whether this happens will depend to a large extent on the degree to which the World Weather Watch becomes a living global reality.

Canadian Aid for the Aborigines of Malaysia

IN 1955, during a brief stay in what was then Malaya, the Secretary of State for External Affairs (later Prime Minister of Canada), the Right Honourable Lester B. Pearson, visited an aborigine-research station at Gombak, a few miles from Kuala Lumpur. The station at that time consisted of a thatch-roofed long-house erected on stilts, which served as a communal hall for a group of aborigine families, a number of small thatched huts in which the families lived, and an administrative building housing the administrative staff of the station. The shy but friendly aborigines had been brought from the deep jungle in order to teach them better methods of food production and hygiene, after which they were to return to their home communities to put into practice what they had learnt.

If a 1955 visitor were to return to the Gombak research station today, he would find it hard to believe that it was the same place. It has since become the headquarters of the Aborigine Medical and Radio Services. There is a 120-bed hospital with separate accommodation for families of patients, who refuse to be separated. A six-month medical-training programme for aborigines (*orang asli*) has been established, and 270 of them are on the Aborigine Medical Service staff serving at Gombak and in the jungle. At present there is a Malaysian, non-aborigine staff of 12 and a volunteer and expatriate staff of 13. Dr. D. F. MacLean, a Canadian serving with CARE/MEDICO, has recently arrived to replace a fellow countryman, Dr. E. J. Ragan, who also served at Gombak. Miss Elaine Wach, a Canadian nurse, recently returned to Canada after serving at Gombak.

A Successful Canadian Project

At the request of the Government of Malaysia, the Canadian Government, in one of its most successful current projects under the Colombo Plan, has provided equipment costing over \$300,000 for the medical service of the Malaysian Department of Aborigine Affairs. This project has involved the provision of two-way radio equipment for the development of a medical-services communications system for the benefit of the *orang asli* living in remote jungle areas of West Malaysia. A total of 50 two-way wireless sets and petrol-generators have been provided by the Canadian Government under this project.

The project this year has been expanded to include the provision of five ambulances for the Gombak Aborigine Hospital to assist in bringing *orang asli* patients from the jungle fringe to various medical posts and to Gombak.

At a ceremony at Gombak on September 10, 1968, the five Canadian ambulances were presented by the Canadian High Commissioner, Mr. John G. Cadwen, to the Acting Minister of Lands and Mines of Malaysia, whose



Mr. John G. Hadwen, High Commissioner for Canada in Malaysia, speaks during a ceremony at Gombak Aborigine Hospital marking the presentation of five ambulances by the Canadian Government to the Malaysian Department of Aborigine Affairs.

ministry is responsible for the administration of the Department of Aborigine Affairs. The Acting Minister accepted the keys to the ambulances and he and the High Commissioner drove the first ambulance round the compound at Gombak. The ceremony was carried over Television and Radio Malaysia.

A mobile dental clinic will also be presented by the Government of Canada to the Gombak Hospital towards the end of this year.

Malaysian Government Measures

Since acquiring independence in 1957, the Government of Malaysia has provided many facilities with a view to raising the standard of living of the *orang asli* so that they may be integrated into the Malaysian community and participate fully in the fruits of Malaysia's struggle to speed economic development. In the educational field, the Government has established over 80 primary schools for aborigine children, and at present there are almost 4,000 attending primary schools and over 200 in secondary schools.

The *orang asli* are being encouraged to develop their land for the planting of long-term cash crops, such as rubber, coconuts and fruit. Thirty pilot settlement schemes have been established containing homes, schools, hostels and

clinics and, where possible, water and sanitary facilities. A construction corps of *orang asli* has been established which is responsible for the construction of various projects in their own communities.

The Government of Malaysia has established a medical service which includes more than 140 medical posts and clinics situated in various *orang asli* areas, mobile health and dental clinics, and the modern hospital at Gombak. Canada, under the Colombo Plan has been happy to co-operate in this worthwhile programme.

Other Canadian Projects

The Aborigine Medical Services project is only part of the Canadian Colombo Plan programme in Malaysia, which has included a natural resources survey which will form the basis of a programme to develop Malaysian forestry, agricultural and mining resources. Further recent assistance by the Canadian Government has been the provision of technical education equipment to 53 comprehensive and secondary trade-schools in West Malaysia and the provision of equipment for a sawmill training establishment in Sarawak. In addition, drainage and sewerage surveys have been undertaken for the cities of Kuala Lumpur, Georgetown and Klang.

During the past year, there have been over 250 Malaysian students and trainees in Canada under Colombo Plan auspices. These have been matched by 39 Canadian Colombo Plan teachers and advisers serving in West and East Malaysia.

Human Environment

TEXT OF STATEMENT IN PLENARY SESSION OF THE

GENERAL ASSEMBLY BY THE REPRESENTATIVE

OF CANADA, MR. R. KAPLAN, M.P., ON DECEMBER 3, 1968.

MAN's increasingly rapid thrust into a technological age has not taken place without serious consequences for our human environment. Alarming changes have occurred in the environment as a result of human activity, principally as a result of the growing forces of industrialization and urbanization. If we are to preserve our environment and ensure the survival of our living resources and, in some regions, human health and life itself, then we must react to these changes in a positive and determined way.

In analyzing these changes, we have made scientific discoveries about our environment which run counter to popular assumptions. As these discoveries gain acceptance, as they must, they are bound to affect all our values, cultural, social and economic, as we develop a new respect for the balance of nature.

Popular assumptions have been based on the view that we have learned to conquer our environment and have become its master. We can now establish comfortable human settlements in the cruelest climates, we can grow crops in sterile soil, we can make food from waste, we can travel vast distances in minutes, we have extended the span of man's life. With all this power, it is small wonder that we have assumed that our environment is a virtually limitless reserve of air, fresh water, and clean earth — there for us to exploit as we develop the capacity to do so. Research has discerned the limits of these elements, but we have believed such limits to be of only theoretical interest.

Fragile Balance

What has recently become clear, and has altered our assumptions of human power over nature, is our realization that our human environment rests in a fragile balance. It is subject to laws which, for all our technology, we must learn to respect and obey, if conditions are to be maintained in which man and his living resources can survive. Our environment is like a living organism, sturdy enough to absorb some stresses but, in some regions, pushed beyond its limits by our production of vast amounts of noxious materials of great complexity. Nature can break only some of these substances down into simple and even beneficial elements, and no matter, however harmful and menacing its form may be to the survival of life, is ever lost to the system. The dynamic forces within the natural system, on which we have relied in the past, cannot

break down and absorb these substances; nor can the system recuperate, of itself, from the devastating effects.

At least one startling example of how the delicate balance of nature can be upset is provided in the Great Lakes region of North America. Lake Erie is, or was, one of the largest fresh-water lakes in the world. Through persistent neglect, and inadequate remedial measures, this great lake has been converted from a source of food, fresh water and recreation into a chemical tank, in which pleasure-boating, let alone swimming, is done at peril. If you fall from a boat in Lake Erie, you are advised to have a tetanus injection. As for food from the lake, it should suffice to say that the blue-pike fish-catch of 6,900,000 pounds in 1956 had dwindled to less than 200 pounds by 1963.

The message for all of us is this : That we must act to arrest the abuses of our environment and to remedy the abuses already inflicted upon it; and that this challenge to life itself should rank in importance with the major issues of our time. Our technology in the past has been directed to control our environment for the production of goods and services. What must now be conquered and put under control are the forces of environmental deterioration and destruction which have been released by contemporary industrial and urban activity. Technology must now be directed to restoring the normal balance in our human environment. New techniques are available to reduce waste, to cleanse polluted areas and to improve industrial and urban processes. It is not that we lack the knowledge but that in the use of our present knowledge we lag behind, a result undoubtedly both of insufficient awareness of the consequences and concern about the costs involved in making use of these new techniques.

New Appraisal Needed

A proper appreciation of what must be done involves making a new appraisal of the value to our peoples of a clean environment. For the purpose of this determination, fresh air, fresh water and clean soil, for the first time in man's history, must be considered in the same economic terms as food, clothing and electricity. The latter are valuable because they provide the basis for a good life and because, as commodities, they have a determinable cost of production. What has now to be understood is that air, water and soil must be regarded as of equal, or even greater, economic importance as central elements of life, which make everything else possible.

The United Nations family has already made a contribution in many areas. In the Convention on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights, the United Nations has provided us with a definition of the human goal toward which we should be working, and that is "the right of everyone to the enjoyment of the highest attainable standard of physical and mental health". The Convention has also placed responsibility on member states to take steps toward "the improvement of all aspects of environmental and industrial hygiene". Individual countries as well as the world community as a whole must be concerned when these rights

are threatened by forces of industrialization and urbanization. Governments have a primary role to play, both individually and through appropriate international co-operation in which the UN can have an important part. Experience in developed areas in the world, regardless of the economic and social system under which they have been developed, points up the problems facing now, or likely to face, all countries as the technological age embraces more and more of mankind.

The Canadian delegation is convinced that the time has come when the world community, as represented in this organization, must give attention to the problems of human environment. We must do this with a sense of concern and urgency and in a spirit of international co-operation. We must do this in the realization that all of us have a great deal to learn about the problems of human environment, that mistakes committed in developed areas need not be repeated elsewhere, that developing countries in particular have an opportunity, through the application of new techniques, to take preventive steps which may enable them to avoid some of the more horrendous consequences of abuse of the human environment.

Prevention and Control

Our experience has shown us that prevention and control measures must now form an integral part of our industrial and urban programmes. We believe that such measures should also form an integral part of the development plans of the developing countries so that the excessive costs of carelessness can be avoided and the economies of comprehensive planning achieved. Apart from the contribution that would be made to the welfare of their people, such an approach would also make a direct contribution to economic development in the developing countries by providing, at an early stage, and at a fraction of the cost, a degree of environmental control that the developed countries will now be able to achieve only at a very high price. We would submit, therefore, that the time has arrived when developing countries will want to take due account, in their development planning, of the implications for the human environment. We should all be prepared to play our part in encouraging and contributing to this essential aspect of economic development.

Thus the steps that each country takes, or fails to take, in improving our environment by reducing pollution are of great importance to the rest of the world, because our environment is continuous. The same air envelops us all the water which falls from the sky, flows through our lands and joins the coast of all countries is one. The pollution which any country contributes to the human environment unavoidably affects the rest of the world. Each of us can reduce our output of pollution, but we shall remain the helpless victims of those who fail to do so. Therefore, not only national efforts but international co-operation must be encouraged and increased for the general benefit of mankind on an increasingly populous planet.

Difficult Decisions Imposed

With new appreciation of the rigid limits imposed by the laws of the balance of nature to which I have referred, every government, including the federal and provincial governments of my own country, has difficult decisions to make. What level of environmental purity shall be required? Producers in the past under all economic systems have been permitted freedom to seek in production the greatest output for the least input or cost, irrespective of the pollution in the process. Economic decisions have not taken pollution into account and, as we reach and strain the limits of nature's tolerance, costs appear which the community bears in terms of waste and deterioration of environment. In this context, the question of standards, which is the crucial beginning, is really the same as asking what level of environmental purity can each economy afford, because, as I shall indicate in a moment, huge costs are involved, far greater for developed than for developing areas, and a responsible decision will undoubtedly affect the gross national product. Having decided upon the goal, each government must then decide how, within its society, it will induce the reforms required to maintain the target level. One thing is clear: within each region, there must be a concentrated effort at reform in which responsibility is broadly shared, because all of us contribute to the production of pollution. We benefit as consumers from the lower costs of goods and services created under conditions where pollution is not controlled, and we all suffer the consequences in the broader context of wasted resources and a deteriorating environment. The choices are whether to require producers to bear the costs directly, or to make direct government expenditures, or to make use of subsidies, tax credits or exemptions; what method is chosen will depend on the society and the economic system involved.

It is against this background that the Canadian delegation views the question now before us. A first step was taken by the Economic and Social Council which, in its Resolution 1346 (XLV), set forth the reasons for concern about our human environment and recommended that this Assembly consider the possibility of an international conference being held on this question. The ECOSOC resolution came none too soon and it is the Canadian view that time is now ripe to take the next step. Accordingly, my delegation has been glad to join with Sweden and many other countries in co-sponsoring Draft Resolution A/L553, which would have the General Assembly decide to convene a UN Conference on Human Environment in 1972.

As the resolution indicates, the Secretary-General would be asked to prepare a report, through the forty-seventh session of ECOSOC, for the twenty-fourth session of the General Assembly. On the basis of this report, it should be possible for the General Assembly to define clearly and precisely the purposes of the proposed conference, and how these purposes should be achieved. For our part, we should hope that the agenda and terms of reference would be shaped in such a way that the conference would produce constructive guide-lines for future action, particularly through international co-operation.

My delegation cannot give sufficient emphasis to the importance of the preparatory work to be carried out taking into account the role now being played by governments of member states, members of the Specialized Agencies and of the IAEA and other appropriate organizations. When the Secretary-General's report is received, the Canadian delegation believed that the most effective way of continuing preparations for the Conference would be to establish an *ad hoc* preparatory committee, which would work in close co-operation with the Secretary-General. That, of course, is not a matter to be decided at this time, but the Canadian delegation does hope that this method of work will be chosen. Canada will be fully prepared to assist in any way possible in the work of such a committee.

A key question, already worthy of preliminary consideration, is the nature of the proposed Conference. While this also remains to be decided, my delegation can see much merit in a Conference which would be of not more than three weeks duration and which would attract a wide spectrum of participants such as public officials, educators and distinguished journalists as well as technical experts. The Conference should focus its attention, in our view, on questions relating to pollution.

Canada's Experience

In suggesting concentration on pollution, I should like to offer some explanations in terms of my own country's experience. Canadian experience indicates some of the dimensions and tremendous costs of failure to introduce effective anti-pollution measures at the earliest stages of development. Canada is a young country, still in the process of developing many of its natural resources and building its primary and secondary industries. Canada shares the upper portion of the North American continent with the United States, the world's most industrialized and most urbanized country. Because so many industrial areas are located along the common border between Canada and the United States, we are both naturally concerned with the problems of pollution, and we are engaged in many joint studies and programmes designed to deal with them. I hope that our experience may be helpful within the UN family in defining and attempting to solve some of the more serious problems of pollution.

Allow me to list briefly some of the major problem areas which are of concern to Canada and to our United States neighbours — areas in which we are already considering or taking corrective measures involving international co-operation.

The Great Lakes and the St. Lawrence River provide fresh water, hydro electric power, fish, recreation facilities and shipping access through 1,000 miles of lakes, rivers and canals to the heart of the North American continent. This great inland waterway provides resources and transportation vital to the economic and social welfare of millions of people in both countries. Indeed, the resources of this magnificent river system are so large that our peoples never believed the

they could be seriously depleted or polluted. Now, however, we are approaching the point of no return. This is the time when we must take active and costly measures if we are to preserve these resources and restore what we have contaminated without crippling the adjacent industrial areas which support millions of people living in the Great Lakes region of our two countries.

Ontario Problems

Let me cite one or two examples of the pollution measures which we, in Canada, are now exploring. The Province of Ontario, which has a population of only seven million people, covers the northern side of a long stretch of the St. Lawrence River, Lakes Ontario, Erie, Huron and Superior and the Niagara River. It is along much of this system that our major industrial-urban areas have developed — as it has on the other side of the border in the United States. Recognizing the serious threat of pollution in the early 1950s, the Ontario Government undertook an investigation of the problem, and it estimated in 1955 that it would cost \$2.4 billion, spent over a period of 20 years, to install in Ontario adequate water and sewage facilities for anti-pollution purposes. Anti-pollution measures are now being implemented in both Ontario and in the riparian states on the United States side to help restore and recover the natural resources we have so seriously and inadvertently damaged or destroyed. To take another example, the cost of constructing sewage systems in Ontario between 1957 and 1967 reached \$182 million because they were not done gradually through the years as the province developed. A recent study of pollution in the Great Lakes cost \$7 million. That was the cost of the study alone; implementation of remedial programmes will cost hundreds of millions of dollars.

It will be clear from these examples that anti-pollution programmes are very expensive and require years of extensive study, planning and construction. The cost of preventive action before pollution occurs is small in comparison. Two of the most expensive problems encountered in developed areas can be entirely avoided in developing areas by planning controls in advance. These problems are the elimination of existing pollution and the upgrading of existing productive facilities which do not satisfactorily control pollution. Here I might mention that among the proposals which have been made is one which would involve the drainage of Lake Erie, the serious condition of which I have already described. You may well imagine how badly this beautiful lake, which is 241 miles long and 57 miles wide, has been polluted if consideration is now being given to its virtual destruction. How much better and less wasteful it would have been if problems had been recognized and overcome before such a stage was reached.

Among the problems are pollution from industrial waste, sewage and chemicals, which for a century have been dumped in ever-increasing quantities into the lakes and rivers. These wastes have destroyed the purity of the water, damaged the fishing industry, and ruined extensive recreation areas and wild-life

sanctuaries, all of which were among the hitherto magnificent and invaluable sources of wealth of our two countries.

Other Kinds of Pollution

I have spoken so far of water pollution because it is one area with which we, in Canada, are now particularly concerned. But there are many other problem areas which are becoming serious threats to our environment and to our cities and towns. Among them are the pollution of the air by industry, domestic heating, and exhaust fumes from automobiles and trucks; the contamination of our waters, harbours and coasts and fishing areas from shipping as well as from urban and industrial wastes; and noise from aircraft — a new problem which governments and the International Civil Air Organization are now studying as it becomes increasingly serious. The poisoning of the soil and crops through the uncontrolled use of chemicals and the effects which such chemicals have on the balance of nature and our wildlife are other problem areas.

It might be of interest to add at this point one example in which, through forethought and sound planning, a serious potential problem of pollution was avoided. The introduction and rapid spread of nuclear-power stations in my country might have added seriously to the contamination of the environment, but fortunately preventive measures were taken at the time these plants were erected. This particular programme of industrial-waste management may well suggest how the problem of pollution might be controlled in new industrial areas. It has been costly, but this cost is insignificant in comparison to the costs of attempting to repair the damage that could have been done.

Canada is both a developed and a developing country. I regret to say that in the regions which are already developed very little thought was given to preserving the values to which I have referred. But to a large extent we have learned our lesson and, like other developed nations, we look forward to the proposed Conference as a way of communicating to others the advantages of early planning and preventive action. For developing countries, in particular we hope that the experience which we and others have gained in the past will make it possible for contamination and loss of resources to be prevented in those areas which are only now being opened to modern technology and industrialization.

In concluding my remarks, may I make one final general comment? For some years various organizations in the United Nations family, such as WHO, FAO, UNESCO, IMCO and the IAEA, have been concerned with and have been carrying out important work in attempting to protect man's environment from the effects of pollution. I would draw attention to the Secretary-General's report on the work of the Specialized Agencies in this field. In addition, many governments and many intergovernmental and regional agencies — among them the International Joint Commission composed of Canada and the United States — have been actively engaged in studies of pollution and programmes designed

to reduce or eliminate the effects of pollution. My delegation strongly urges member states, and members of the United Nations family as well as inter-governmental, governmental and non-governmental organizations, to give their fullest assistance and support to the Secretary-General in preparing the proposed report and in carrying forward the arrangements for convening the proposed conference.

The rapid economic development of the past several decades has offered mankind the promise and the hope of a life free from hunger, from disease, and from the degradation of poverty and illiteracy. And yet the industrialization which has brought, and is bringing, more and more countries to the threshold of this new age is also, ironically, threatening the continuing health and welfare of mankind through the hitherto unforeseen threat to the rich and often irreplaceable resources of the land, the forests, the lakes, the sea and the air. We must answer this threat by ensuring that future generations do not suffer from inaction or indifference on our part. I therefore urge, without prejudicing the observations of the Secretary-General concerning the scope and nature of the proposed conference, that at this session we take another step forward, indicating our willingness and desire to deal with the problems of human environment. We can do this by taking a decision in principle now to hold a Conference on Human Environment in 1972 and to co-operate fully in the preparatory work to ensure that the Conference will be a concrete success. I therefore invite all delegations to join with the co-sponsors in unanimously adopting the resolution before us.

Canadian Gift to Vietnamese Children

ON NOVEMBER 28, 1968, Canada's Ambassador Richard Tait presented 460,000 civic text-books to the Republic of Vietnam school system. The 148-page text in the Vietnamese language, entitled *Practice Good Qualities*, is for use by children of seven and eight in primary schools.

The Ambassador, the senior Canadian representative on the International Control Commission in Saigon, was accompanied by Mrs. Tait, who is a volunteer teacher at the Vietnamese American Association school in Saigon. The day before, a Viet Cong terrorist explosive had destroyed several rooms and blown out a huge section of the walls of the school building where Mrs. Tait teaches and where 12,000 young Vietnamese are studying English and related subjects.

During the past four years, despite the war and enemy terrorism, which has cost the lives of more than 50 teachers, there has been a more than twofold expansion of Vietnam's school system, together with modernization of the curriculum, the result being an unprecedented need for new text-books.



Miss This Van Bui of South Vietnam, a fourth-year chemical engineer at the University of Ottawa, explains to a group of young Canadian friends a text-book, one of 460,000 copies printed by the Government of Canada and presented as a gift from the people of Canada to the children of Vietnam for use by Grade III students.

Vietnamese text-book production, with a maximum capacity of 1,000,000 copies a year, falls well short of the needs of the schools. The Canadian gift, with the contributions of the United States, Australia, China and West Germany, has filled the gap. Canada's assistance alone amounts to 100 truckloads of books, according to Ly Chanh Duc, Director of the Vietnam Government Instructional Materials Centre.

Presenting Canada's contribution in a ceremony attended by hundreds of children at the Saigon Demonstration School, Mr. Tait congratulated the Republic of Vietnam and the other contributing agencies for "the steady progress which, notwithstanding grave difficulties, they have made in expanding the scope and improving the quality of the Vietnamese school system".

Accepting Canada's gift, the Deputy Minister for Education and Youth, Le Minh Lien, said that, owing largely to the help of friendly nations, Vietnam was achieving a modern education system to meet the needs and expectations of "a people that is poor but proud, suffering but never in despair, underdeveloped but always eager to move ahead".

Practice Good Qualities is captivating to children. Each page is illustrated in black and pink; the cover is made of a multicoloured, plastic-impregnated paper. The text, prepared in Saigon, was printed by the Kwok Hing Printing Press of Hong Kong. An acknowledgment on the first page says that the books are a gift from the Canadian Government to the children of Vietnam. Below the inscription is a reproduction of the Canadian flag with "Government of Canada" in English and French and "Canada" in Vietnamese.

The first shipment of 223,400 copies was delivered in Vietnam before the beginning of the 1967-68 school-year. The balance left Hong Kong on April 5, 1968, aboard the Panamanian cargo ship *Wing Lien*, which sank in the China Sea the following day after colliding with a barge towed by a tug from mainland China. The crew of the *Wing Lien*, 26 Hong Kong Chinese, were rescued by marine police 40 minutes before the ship sank. The ship and its literary cargo were covered by insurance. Reprints were made and the second shipment of 29,000 copies reached Saigon on August 6, 1968. The total cost of printing and shipping amounted to approximately \$80,000.

Canada's gift, augmented by the contributions of four other donor countries, brings the total number of text-books donated to Vietnam to more than 14 million. These have been distributed even to the remotest villages.

Canadian assistance to South Vietnam, begun in 1955, reached \$5,786,200 by the end of 1968. This included a \$2,500,000 civilian rehabilitation centre at Qui-Nhon, a tuberculosis clinic at Quang-Ngai and the provision of a Canadian medical team. In December 1968, a Canadian medical mission visited South Vietnam to re-examine the Quang-Ngai project in the light of new techniques developed in the control of tuberculosis. Canada has recently completed a 72-unit refugee apartment-block in Saigon to house families left homeless by last spring's offensive.

Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development

MINISTERIAL MEETING OF THE AGRICULTURE COMMITTEE

ON NOVEMBER 28 and 29, 1968, the Agriculture Committee of the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development met in ministerial session in Paris. Ministers of agriculture from all member countries attended. Canada was represented by the Honourable H. A. Olson, Minister of Agriculture, Mr. C. J. Small, Canada's Permanent Representative to the OECD, and senior officials of the Department of Agriculture. Mr. H. Hoecherl, Minister of Agriculture for West Germany, was elected chairman and Mr. Olson and Mr. Diaz-Ambrona, Minister of Agriculture of Spain, were elected vice-chairmen of the meeting.

The Committee meets at ministerial level annually to review agricultural policies of the 20 member countries, as part of the more general process of economic co-operation and co-ordination which member governments undertake through their participation in the Organization. This meeting was particularly timely from Canada's point of view because it provided an opportunity for high level consultation among major exporting and importing countries on the problem of international agricultural trade, which are growing increasingly serious.

Discussion

The purpose of the meeting was to examine current agricultural problems facing OECD members. Particular attention was focused on the current and medium term market situation for major commodities, especially cereals and dairy products. It was generally agreed that the agricultural sector was passing through a highly dynamic phase, in which technological progress was rapid. Methods of production were constantly being rationalized as farm structures evolved in new patterns. As these fundamental structural changes were taking place, the farm populations of the OECD countries were undergoing difficult but necessary adjustments, which often gave rise to serious social problems. Ministers agreed however, that the reduction of the farm population, together with the move to fewer but larger farms, must continue at the fastest rate consistent with the social, demographic and economic considerations of a country.

Ministers noted that international agricultural trade was suffering from deterioration of international markets for agricultural products. The problems were essentially those of over-supply connected with a lack of adequate growth in demand. This situation had led to conflicting policies incorporating price support mechanisms, which very often aggravated the problems they were

designed to solve. Ministers found that the tendency towards over-production had given rise to the widespread use of export aids and an intensification of import restrictions. Recently there had also been an increasing resort to such measures as consumer subsidies and denaturation. As a result of their exchanges, the ministers concluded that there was an urgent need to adjust agricultural policies to the market situation both at home and abroad.

Attention was also given to the problems of technological change in agriculture, the optimum size of farms, the proportion of population engaged in agriculture and the appropriate "mix" of agricultural policies, including the use of price-support mechanisms to produce both a rising farm income and an equilibrium between supply and demand.

Canadian Statement

Canada has had a continuing interest in contributing significantly to the work of the Agriculture Committee, and Mr. Olson's address emphasized Canada's interest in creating workable machinery and practical solutions for the problems facing agriculture. Mr. Olson began by noting that "the general picture" (for agriculture) was "one of output expanding faster than requirements". "Generally, too," he said, "the excess is greater than can reasonably be expected to be absorbed in other parts of the world even with expanded food aid." In attempting to solve such problems :

(T)here is a tendency for one country to take some unilateral action to gain advantage, at the disadvantage of other countries. Producers and governments see what is done in other countries and quite naturally feel that similar action in their own is required. It seems to me that individual countries have a major responsibility to solve their problems and that solutions should be on the basis of agreed principles with other countries. . . . Agricultural programmes, even though imperfect, should have built into them some features which encourage and promote needed longer-term adjustments. If subsidies are used, they should at the same time bring about needed adjustments as well as provide additional farm income.

Mr. Olson went on to discuss the particular problems of Canadian dairy products within the context of the nature and the amount of assistance that could be provided to dairy producers. He also reviewed the primary importance of cereals to Canada and noted that :

Since the last ministers' meeting the International Grains Agreement has been concluded. We are pleased with this international co-operative effort, that provision has been made for minimum and maximum prices and that exporters and importers recognize responsibilities in food aid. I should hope that even more progress might be made towards rationalization of production, of domestic policies and of trade patterns. Canada is now in the process of establishing a National Grains Council, which will assist in giving direction and co-ordination in all aspects of production and marketing. Representation on the Council from many segments of the industry is envisaged, and we expect that the Council will consider and advise on research, production, transportation, storage and marketing.

After summarizing Canadian programmes in the field of rural development, farm credit and farm-management services, Mr. Olson concluded with the following :

I would like to see a move in all of our countries towards producing what each can best produce. The OECD since it was established has sought ways and means for rational agricultural policies. Many very good reports have been produced and the ones now before us point out the issues, implications and directions most clearly. I would think that we might now shift from an emphasis on new studies to seeking ways to implement what we now have before us.

A rationalization of domestic policies helps to pave the way for improved trade policies, a goal towards which I believe we should strive. We should discuss and try to get agreements on limits to subsidies in agriculture and on export subsidies. A healthy and stable agriculture cannot be built when economic production and trade patterns can be greatly changed by unilateral decisions of countries on domestic and trade policies.

IMCO Assembly and Council

LONDON, NOVEMBER 1968

TOWARDS the end of November 1968, the Intergovernmental Maritime Consultative Organization (IMCO), the Specialized Agency of the United Nations dealing with maritime affairs, held a special session of its Assembly to discuss problems arising as a result of disasters involving pollution of the sea. During the same period, the IMCO Council met for its twenty-first regular session, and the Council's working group on methods and objectives held its first meeting. The Canadian delegation to these meetings was headed by Gordon W. Stead, Assistant Deputy Minister (Marine) of the Department of Transport (who also chaired the working group), and included advisers from the Departments of Transport and External Affairs.

Despite the fact that the disaster involving the tanker *Torrey Canyon* (which ran aground off the coast of Britain) occurred only 20 months ago, studies of the technical aspects of this disaster have already led to a number of important recommendations for increased safety at sea. As a result of IMCO's work concerning the *Torrey Canyon* affair, which aroused intense interest in the maritime world, the Assembly adopted the recommendations mentioned above, and together with some amendments to the International Convention for the Safety of Life at Sea (1960), suggested to governments measures which should be adopted as soon as possible to reduce the risk of large-scale pollution of the sea.

Among the measures proposed was a new approach to the problem of collision on the high seas — the establishment by agreement of voluntary "sea-lanes" in the areas of high shipping density and a consolidated international manual on sea-lanes, which is to be published by IMCO. Although such regulation would seem to be a simple thing, and in the past there has always been the opportunity for a coastal state to proclaim a voluntary scheme of its own approaches, the "freedom of the high seas" has been jealously guarded. Under the new arrangements, all operators of ships will be persuaded by their own national administrations to have their vessels follow these sea-lanes in international waters.

The IMCO Assembly also discussed the need for a conference on maritime law to discuss two major legal aspects of pollution resulting from collision or other disasters at sea. On the one hand, there is a need to state clearly what are the rights of a coastal state in taking preventive measures against the threat of pollution in its vicinity, but outside its territorial waters. For example, the British Government eventually decided to bomb the hulk of the *Torrey*

Canyon, attempting to set fire to its cargo in order to diminish the magnitude of the pollution. On the other hand, there is a need to establish some means of fixing financial responsibility — on the owner of the ship or its cargo — when damage is caused by pollution either to a coastal state or to any of its citizens. The Assembly came to the conclusion that the need for such a conference was clearly evident. It will meet in Brussels during November 1969, sponsored by IMCO with the Belgian Government as host.

The IMCO Council, which met in the same week as the Assembly, discussed a number of important matters, including the relations of IMCO with other organizations in the United Nations, the work that the Organization could carry out in the future, and the role that it should be playing in the field of maritime technical assistance. The Canadian delegation presented two draft resolutions which were favourably received by the Council, dealing with the role of IMCO in the maritime-law field. The two resolutions will, it is hoped, lay a groundwork for re-examination by the Secretariat of the activities that it is undertaking on behalf of the Organization and will allow Secretariat members to increase consultation within the UN family concerning work in the maritime field related to activities being undertaken by other organs within the UN system. It is hoped that such an examination will help prevent duplication of effort and encourage co-operation. As a result of the discussions held in the Council it was decided at the urging of the developing countries on the Council, that a special session should be held in March 1969 to discuss the role the organization could play in the field of technical assistance and how an increased programme of technical-assistance projects, financed by the United Nations Development Programme, could be more effectively administered by IMCO.

External Affairs in Parliament

Ratification of Non-Proliferation Treaty

The following statement was made in the House of Commons on December 19 by the Secretary of State for External Affairs, the Honourable Mitchell Sharp :

Mr. Speaker, Honourable Members will recall that on October 29 I tabled in the House copies of international treaties, agreements or protocols which Canada had signed or acceded to in recent months. Among those treaties was the nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty.

This treaty, which marked an important new step forward in arms control, was endorsed by the great majority of member states at a special session of the United Nations General Assembly. It was then opened for signature in Washington, London and Moscow on July 1. Canada signed the treaty in Washington and London on July 23 and in Moscow on July 27. More than 80 nations have now signed the treaty and three — Britain, Nigeria and Ireland — have ratified it. We hope that in due course all the nations of the world will recognize the importance of this treaty and accede to it.

Before the Non-Proliferation Treaty comes into effect, 43 states, including the three nuclear powers which have signed it, must deposit ratifications. We understand that the United States Senate will consider the question of ratification in January, and that the Soviet Union will then make a decision regarding Russian ratification. As a leading proponent of the treaty and one of the major "near-nuclear" signatories, Canada has an opportunity to provide leadership by demonstrating our faith in the Non-Proliferation Treaty. To do this we must take immediate steps to ensure that we are among the first to ratify. A positive decision by Canada may help to exert a favourable influence on other governments whose early support for the treaty is important to its future effectiveness.

The Government therefore proposes to take the necessary action to permit Canadian ratification, if possible before the New Year.

I am sure Members on both sides of the House support the objectives for which this treaty was negotiated and will welcome the fact that the Government of Canada now proposes to take steps to ratify it. I hope there will be opportunities in due course to discuss the treaty in the Standing Committee on External Affairs and Defence or when the estimates of the Department of External Affairs are under debate in the House. In order not to delay Canadian ratification, however, we would propose to move forward immediately. For this reason I am taking this opportunity to bring the matter to the attention of the House.

As a member of the 18-Nation Disarmament Committee, Canada played an important role in negotiations during the last seven years which culminated in the presentation at the April 1968 session of the United Nations General

Assembly of an agreed draft treaty designed to limit the spread of nuclear weapons. Our support for the principles embodied in this treaty has been unwavering. We continue to believe that without an agreement of this nature there is little prospect of progress toward controlling the dissemination of nuclear weapons or toward general disarmament.

In effect, the Non-Proliferation Treaty will prohibit signatory countries not now in possession of nuclear weapons from manufacturing or otherwise acquiring such weapons and devices. It prohibits nuclear powers from transferring nuclear weapons or explosives to non-nuclear weapon states. It requires non-nuclear states to accept international safeguards on their nuclear programmes but guarantees their rights to exploit nuclear energy for peaceful purposes and to obtain the benefits of peaceful nuclear explosions.

In my opinion the Non-Proliferation Treaty is a significant contribution to the three basic objectives that guided Canadian participation in the lengthy negotiations that led to its conclusion. First, the treaty will reduce the sense of uncertainty and insecurity which aggravates international tensions, accelerates the arms race and increases the risk of nuclear war. It is thus a contribution toward long-term world security. Second, the treaty represents an initial but essential step toward the control and reduction of existing stocks of nuclear weapons. Further steps forward are urgently required, and at this current session of the United Nations General Assembly I welcomed indications that the United States and the Soviet Union are discussing the initiation of talks on the limitation of strategic nuclear-armed missile systems, including anti-ballistic missiles.

Our third objective, that effective international safeguards be applied as widely as possible on all the processes involved in the nuclear field, is enhanced by this treaty. By extending and consolidating international safeguards procedures, it should facilitate exchanges and co-operation in the peaceful uses of nuclear energy.

Members of the House will recognize, I am sure, that the full potential of the Non-Proliferation Treaty can be realized only if it is respected and accepted by a very large majority of states. The Canadian decision to ratify will, we hope, play a major part in convincing additional countries of the necessity of bringing this treaty into force at the earliest possible date.

CONFERENCES

UNCTAD, Trade and Development Board, eighth session: Geneva, January 21 - February 7
Permanent Joint Board on Defence, 123rd meeting: San Francisco, February 3-7
Economic Commission for Africa, ninth session: Addis Ababa, February 3-14
OECD Ministerial Meeting: Paris, February 13-14
ATO spring ministerial meeting: Washington, April 10-11

APPOINTMENTS, TRANSFERS AND RESIGNATIONS IN THE DEPARTMENT OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS AND FOREIGN SERVICE

- Mr. V. C. Moore appointed High Commissioner for Canada to Jamaica, effective October 21, 1968.
- Mr. F. R. Grover resigned from the Department of External Affairs, effective October 31, 1968.
- Mr. A. P. Bissonnet appointed to the Department of External Affairs as Foreign Service Officer 8, effective November 1, 1968.
- Mr. G. J. Sleeth appointed to the Department of External Affairs as Foreign Service Officer 1, effective November 4, 1968.
- Mr. J. G. D. Gregoire de Blois posted from Ottawa to the Canadian Embassy, Rome, effective November 7, 1968.
- Mr. D. J. French appointed to the Department of External Affairs as Administrative Services Officer 1, effective November 4, 1968. Posted to the Office of the High Commissioner for Canada, New Delhi, effective November 15, 1968.
- Miss H. Simard posted from Ottawa to the Canadian Embassy, Washington, effective November 11, 1968.
- Mr. M. J. G. Henrie resigned from the Department of External Affairs, effective November 15, 1968.
- Mr. A. E. Gotlieb resigned from the Department of External Affairs, effective November 29, 1968.
- Mr. G. K. Grande appointed Canadian Ambassador to Norway, effective November 7, 1968. Accredited concurrently Canadian Ambassador to Iceland, effective December 3, 1968.
- Mr. I. G. Mundell posted from Ottawa to the Office of the High Commissioner for Canada Islamabad, effective December 4, 1968.
- Mr. W. H. Van Sickle appointed to the Department of External Affairs as Personnel Administrator 4, effective December 9, 1968.
- Mr. J. A. Whittleton posted from the Canadian Embassy, Tel Aviv, to Ottawa, effective December 13, 1968.
- Mr. D. B. Hicks, Office of the High Commissioner for Canada, Nairobi, appointed High Commissioner for Canada to Ghana, effective December 13, 1968.
- Mr. P. A. Beaulieu appointed Canadian Ambassador to France, effective December 14, 1968.
- Mr. F. M. Bild posted from l'École Nationale d'Administration, Paris, to the Canadian Embassy, Paris, effective December 16, 1968.
- Mr. T. B. B. Wainman-Wood, High Commissioner for Canada to Cyprus, appointed Canadian Ambassador to Czechoslovakia, effective December 17, 1968.
- Mr. D. W. Munro appointed Canadian Ambassador to Costa Rica, effective December 19, 1968.
- Mr. C. J. Woodsworth, Canadian Ambassador to South Africa, accredited concurrently High Commissioner for Canada to Botswana, effective December 19, 1968.

- Mr. J. C. G. Brown, Canadian Ambassador to the Congo, appointed High Commissioner for Canada to Cyprus, effective December 20, 1968.
- Mr. E. W. T. Gill, Canadian Ambassador to Ireland, retired from the Public Service, effective December 27, 1968.
- Mr. M. Baudouin appointed Canadian Ambassador to the Congo, effective December 31, 1968.
- Mr. W. F. Bull, Canadian Ambassador to the Netherlands, retired from the Public Service, effective December 31, 1968.

EXTERNAL AFFAIRS

*External Affairs is issued monthly in English and French by the
Department of External Affairs, Ottawa.*

*It provides reference material on Canada's external relations
and reports the current work and activities of the Department.*

Any material in this publication may be reproduced.

Citation of External Affairs as the source would be appreciated.

*Subscription rates : Canada, the United States and Mexico,
\$2.00 a year; other countries, \$2.50; students in Canada,
the United States and Mexico, \$1.00 a year; in other
countries, \$1.50. Subscriptions are sent post free.*

*Remittances, payable to the Receiver General of Canada,
should be sent to the Queen's Printer, Ottawa, Canada.*

*Authorized as Second Class Mail, Post Office Department,
Ottawa.*

Published by authority of
the Honourable Mitchell Sharp,
Secretary of State for External Affairs

Vol. XXI, No. 2

Contents

February 1969

Commonwealth Prime Ministers Meet in London	58
Inauguration of President Nixon	72
United Nations General Assembly	73
A Fresh Look at Canada's Relations with Europe	80
New Canadian Measures Against Rhodesia	(85)
International Year for Human Rights	86
France-Canada Interparliamentary Association	88
Food and Agriculture Organization	90
Senator Martin Visits Africa	93
Canada in the Olympic Cultural Events	98
Merit Award to External Affairs Employee	101
External Affairs in Parliament	
Commonwealth Conference	102
Conferences	106
Appointments, Transfers and Resignations in the Department of External Affairs and Foreign Service	106
Treaty Information	107

Commonwealth Prime Ministers Meet in London

The following communiqué was issued at the end of the meeting of Commonwealth prime ministers in January 1969 :

Commonwealth heads of government met in London January 7-15. Botswana, Cyprus, Malawi, Tanzania, Uganda and Zambia were represented by their presidents. Australia, Barbados, Britain, Canada, Ceylon, Gambia, Guyana, India, Jamaica, Lesotho, Malaysia, Malta, Mauritius, New Zealand, Sierra Leone, Singapore, Swaziland and Trinidad and Tobago were represented by their prime ministers. Ghana was represented by the Deputy Chairman of the National Liberation Council; Kenya by its Minister of Finance; Nigeria by the Vice-Chairman of the Federal Executive Council; and Pakistan by its Minister for Foreign Affairs. The Prime Minister of Britain was in the chair.

This was the largest meeting of Commonwealth heads of government and one of the biggest consultative gatherings of heads of government from all parts of the world since the signature of the United Nations Charter. Heads of government warmly greeted the President of Botswana and the prime



The heads of government of the countries represented at the 1969 meeting of Commonwealth prime ministers in London are photographed with Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II.

ministers of Barbados, Lesotho, Mauritius and Swaziland, whose countries had become new members of the Commonwealth since the previous meeting.

The Republic of Nauru has become the Commonwealth's first "special member", with the right to participate in all functional meetings and activities, and to be eligible for Commonwealth technical assistance. The Associated States of the West Indies, having reached a full measure of self-government although not fully independent, also take part in Commonwealth meetings and activities in fields within their constitutional competence. Heads of government welcomed these arrangements, which had been agreed on since their last meeting to enable very small states to participate in the work of the Commonwealth.

International Affairs

Heads of government were aware that they were meeting at a time of some misgivings about the effectiveness of international organizations and associations. They were unanimous that effective international co-operation was more than ever important. Any weaknesses and failures of international machinery were a reason to improve that machinery, not to despair of it. They expressed their continued support for the purposes and principles of the United Nations Charter and their wish to contribute to efforts to strengthen the institutions and work of the United Nations, particularly its role in maintaining and promoting peace.

They noted with pleasure the part played by Commonwealth countries in the development of regional co-operation. At the same time they recognized that exchanges of view and consultation within a wider association such as the Commonwealth offered one means by which its members could form a better understanding of one another's problems and attitudes and of their growing interdependence.

With these considerations in mind, they reviewed some of the major issues and trends in the world political situation.

They were in agreement that the principles of non-interference by one state in the internal affairs of another and of scrupulous respect for the sovereignty, the territorial integrity and political independence of all states are the very cornerstone of the structure of world peace.

Heads of government also felt that events in Czechoslovakia in violation of these principles and of the United Nations Charter tended to undermine respect for the territorial integrity and sovereign independence of all states, particularly small states.

They considered that events in the Middle East in violation of the United Nations Charter and the Security Council resolution emphasized the need for the establishment of a durable peace in the area as a matter of urgency. This could be achieved in accordance with the Security Council resolutions of November 22, 1967. The heads of government expressed support for the efforts of Dr. Jarring, the special representative of the UN Secretary-General, and urged all concerned to give him their fullest co-operation. They were

encouraged to note the round of consultation now in process among the four permanent members of the Security Council and urged these governments to persist in their efforts to help bring about a settlement in accordance with the November 22 resolution of the Security Council. While the role of major powers was important, other countries, especially those that have an interest in the re-opening of the Suez Canal, including Commonwealth members, could contribute towards a settlement.

Recalling the views expressed at their meetings in 1965 and 1966, heads of government welcomed the commencement of the Vietnam talks in Paris and expressed the hope that they would lead to discussions aimed at securing a just, lasting and genuine peace.

It was the view of the majority of heads of government that the People's Republic of China has a right and a duty to participate in full in all the world's efforts towards peace. Most heads of government expressed the hope that the People's Republic of China would be able to take its rightful place in the international community, although some of them also stressed that this should be achieved without prejudicing the rights of the people of Taiwan to an independent existence if they chose. However, certain prime ministers of countries whose governments recognized the Government of the Republic of China (Taiwan) reiterated their support of that Government's right to membership of the United Nations.

Heads of government, recalling the ending of Indonesia's policy of confrontation against Malaysia and Singapore in 1966, were encouraged by developments towards stability in Indonesia since their last meeting in 1966 and felt that this would contribute to the general stability and economic development of the region.

The meeting observed that difficulties between Malaysia and the Philippines arising out of the Philippine claim to Sabah had hampered the progress of regional co-operation in Southeast Asia. It expressed the hope that these difficulties could be resolved by peaceful means, upholding the right of self-determination which has been exercised by the people of Sabah.

The meeting also noted with concern and sympathy the difficulties which Guyana was experiencing in connection with Venezuela's claim to more than one-half of Guyana's territory. Acknowledging that threats to the territorial integrity of the state make inevitable the diversion of resources and energies from the constructive tasks of development, many members shared the view advanced by Guyana's Prime Minister that there was an urgent need for an international effort to secure the territorial integrity of every state — and especially of the small developing countries of the world.

The meeting expressed the hope that the recent achievement of independence by many small states would bring home to the international community the need to introduce special and effective measures to guarantee their territorial integrity.

The meeting considered that major barriers to progress on negotiated agreements in critical areas and fields would be overcome by significant progress in achieving *détente* and in co-operation between the major powers. It was, therefore, considered essential that efforts to reduce tension and extend areas of peace and co-operation should continue.

Heads of government recalled that, at their meeting in September 1966, they had expressed the view that events were throwing into ever sharper relief the need for firm and far-reaching agreements on disarmament. They considered that the need for such agreements was even more urgent now than it was then, and hoped that the Eighteen-Nation Disarmament Committee would resume consideration of this matter.

The meeting considered that the Eighteen-Nation Disarmament Committee should, as a matter of priority, explore possibilities of reaching agreement on effective measures designed to bring about a cessation of the nuclear-arms race at a very early date. With this end in view, a universally-binding comprehensive nuclear test-ban treaty was an urgent necessity. In this connection, the British proposal to the Eighteen-Nation Disarmament Committee for a phased approach to a comprehensive test-ban treaty was deserving of further study. They considered that the Eighteen-Nation Disarmament Committee should also seek to achieve a cut-off of the production of fissionable material for weapons purposes. Both these measures could be of great significance in halting the nuclear arms race. Mention was also made of the possibility that the Eighteen-Nation Disarmament Committee might undertake the study of various proposals made for a Convention on the Prohibition of the Use Of Nuclear Weapons. The meeting gave particularly strong support to one of the recommendations made by the Conference of Non-Nuclear Weapon States (whose distinguished President was present at this meeting) and reported by the General Assembly of the United Nations to the Governments of the U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R. that they should at an early date begin their bilateral discussions on the limitation of offensive strategic nuclear-weapons delivery systems and systems of defence against ballistic missiles.

The meeting stressed again that effective disarmament must cover non-nuclear as well as nuclear weapons. In this connection, the heads of government drew attention to the urgent need for action to deal with the threat presented by chemical and biological weapons and welcomed the British proposal to the Eighteen-Nation Disarmament Committee for a new convention prohibiting micro-biological methods of warfare. They looked forward to the report on chemical and biological weapons which the Secretary-General of the UN had been requested to prepare; they hoped that this would make a valuable contribution to the consideration of arms control measures to deal with these weapons.

Heads of government recalled that, at their meeting in September 1966, they had stressed that, while there was still time, it was imperative to halt the spread of nuclear weapons. A step towards this goal was taken with the

opening for signature of the Treaty for the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons. In so far as the treaty achieved this objective, most heads of government welcomed it. However, some heads of government had reservations on certain aspects of the treaty, including its effectiveness and the reliability of security guarantees for non-nuclear weapon states. It was recognized that the Non-Proliferation Treaty would not fulfil all the hopes set upon it unless progress could also be made by the nuclear powers towards effective measures of nuclear disarmament. It was also recognized that member states which were subjected to attack or threat of attack by either nuclear or non-nuclear weapons had the right to the protection afforded to them under the UN Charter.

The meeting heard a statement by Britain on the progress of the remaining British dependencies towards self-government or independence. Twenty such dependencies were now left — many of them very small islands — and there had been recent constitutional advances in sixteen. It noted that, in the case of British Honduras, the Falkland Islands and Gibraltar, the British Government stood ready to hold discussions with interested neighbouring countries, consonant with its basic principle, which was enshrined in the UN Charter, that the interests and wishes of the inhabitants must be paramount.

The Prime Minister of Malta drew the attention of other heads of government to the situation arising from the rapidly-increasing technological capacity to exploit the immense resources of the sea-bed, which constitutes nearly three-quarters of the surface of the earth. They considered that the area of the sea-bed and ocean-floor beyond the limits of present national jurisdiction, for which a precise definition should be sought, should be accorded a special legal status as part of the common heritage of mankind, and as such should be reserved for peaceful purposes and for the orderly exploration and exploitation of its great resources, by such appropriate international machinery as is agreed on, acting for the common benefit of all states, irrespective of their geographical location, and taking into special consideration the interests and needs of the developing countries.

The meeting welcomed the initiative of the Government of Malta, which led to the appointment in December 1968 by the General Assembly of the UN of a committee on the peaceful uses of the sea-bed and the ocean-floor beyond the limits of national jurisdiction, and declared its support for the Committee's work.

Rhodesia

The meeting had a full discussion on the problem of Rhodesia. Heads of government agreed that there were several reasons why Rhodesia was so important in Commonwealth consultations. The legal authority and the responsibility for the terms on which it would be brought to independence rested with Britain, a Commonwealth member. The attempts of Commonwealth countries adjacent to Rhodesia to establish non-racial societies and prosperous

economies were jeopardized by the growing threat of race conflict within the region. But the overriding reason was that problems such as this involved principles of racial justice and equality and the right of all peoples to self-determination which are embodied in the UN Charter and in the Declaration of Human Rights. These matters went to the heart of the Commonwealth relationship and were therefore of deep concern to all Commonwealth members.

The meeting recalled that, for these reasons, Rhodesia had been an important subject of discussion at recent Commonwealth conferences, and heads of government reiterated the principles and objectives affirmed at their four previous meetings.

They also reviewed developments since their last meeting, noting that the illegal regime had continued acts of political repression against the African majority population, and that there were increasing trends towards an *apartheid* system in Rhodesia.

The constitutional proposals drawn up on board HMS *Fearless* were discussed. Most heads of government emphasized their view that these proposals were unacceptable as the constitution of an independent Rhodesia, and should therefore be withdrawn. They considered that to transfer sovereignty to a



The prime ministers and representatives of 28 Commonwealth countries assemble in London's Marlborough House for the opening session of the 1969 meeting of Commonwealth prime ministers.

racial minority as the result of an agreement reached with that minority would settle nothing, if the settlement was not freely accepted by the people of Rhodesia as a whole, including the four million African Rhodesians, and seen by the international community, especially the independent African countries, to be so accepted. Otherwise internal strife, and outside support for guerilla activities, would increase, with the inevitable risk of increasing instability and eventual race war. They stated that historical experience suggested that, once independence was achieved, a minority in power could not be prevented from changing a constitution in whatever way they might wish. The only effective guarantees of political and civil rights lay in vesting those rights in the people as a whole.

The meeting recalled the pledge given by the British Prime Minister, following discussion at the Commonwealth conference in September 1966, that independence would not be granted before majority rule was achieved (NIBMAR). The British Prime Minister stated that, although the *Fearless* proposals remained on the table, there had been no change in the British Government's policy on NIBMAR. The meeting welcomed the statement that the British Government's policy on NIBMAR remained unchanged. But most heads of government reiterated their position that the *Fearless* proposals should be withdrawn.

Some heads of government reiterated their call on the British Government to use force to quell the rebellion in Rhodesia. The British Prime Minister explained the reasons why the British Government regarded the use of force as wrong and impracticable.

The British Prime Minister said that he had taken careful note of the view expressed by most other heads of government that the *Fearless* proposals ought to be withdrawn. But he could not himself accept this view since he considered that it would be right, if it proved possible, to give the people of Rhodesia as a whole an opportunity to decide for themselves whether or not they wished for a settlement which would be fully consistent with the six principles laid down by successive British Governments. Any such settlement would need to be clearly shown to be the wish of the Rhodesian people as a whole. If that took place, he would consult his Commonwealth colleagues about the NIBMAR commitments. He emphasized, however, that a settlement based on the six principles would not be possible if it were shown that there could be no genuine test of its acceptability in present circumstances in Rhodesia.

It was agreed that any settlement must depend for its validity upon the democratically-ascertained wishes of the people of Rhodesia as a whole. The process for ascertaining their views was the British Government's responsibility but the test of the acceptability of any proposed settlement would need to be made in a manner which would carry conviction in the Commonwealth and in the international community generally, so that its results would be accepted as truly reflecting the wishes of the people of Rhodesia. Many heads c

government urged that this could only be carried out through the normal democratic process of election or referendum, and doubted whether adequate safeguards for free political expression and verification of the results could be provided so long as the rebel government remained in power. The meeting noted the British Prime Minister's statement that it would be open to the proposed Royal Commission to say that, in the circumstances prevailing in Rhodesia, no genuine assessment was possible of the acceptability of the proposed settlement to the people of Rhodesia as a whole and that, further, if the Royal Commission felt themselves unable to adjudicate on the acceptability or otherwise of the proposals to the people of Rhodesia as a whole, they would be free to recommend any alternative method, including a referendum, which in their view would adequately test Rhodesian opinion.

The meeting had before it a review of the working of economic sanctions prepared for it by the Commonwealth Sanctions Committee. The meeting agreed that the comprehensive mandatory sanctions were having some effect. It was important to strengthen the enforcement of these and other pressures on the illegal regime, and to intensify them wherever possible, in order to bring about an acceptable political settlement. Heads of government therefore affirmed their support for the Supervisory Committee of the UN Security Council and for the Commonwealth Sanctions Committee, which they requested to continue to keep the situation under review.

Notwithstanding some differences of opinion on methods, heads of government remained unanimous on the ultimate objectives to be sought in Rhodesia. They were more than ever resolved that, whatever the time needed to reverse it, the seizure of power by a small racial minority could be neither recognized nor tolerated. Concerted international action was being steadily built up, particularly through the UN and the Commonwealth, and heads of government pledged their continuing support for all efforts to strengthen and extend this and to continue to assist Rhodesian Africans in preparing themselves to take their rightful place in the government and administration of their country. The special problems encountered by Botswana and Zambia arising from the Rhodesia crisis were recognized.

The British Prime Minister undertook to continue to consult Commonwealth members on the issue of Rhodesia.

South Africa

The meeting considered other problems in South Africa. It reaffirmed the condemnation expressed at previous meetings of the policy of *apartheid* of the South African Government — a policy totally abhorrent to world opinion. It expressed serious concern at the continued refusal of South Africa to accept its international obligations in respect of the territory of South West Africa.

The meeting deeply regretted that Portugal continued to deny the right of self-determination to the inhabitants of its colonial territories in Africa and

called on Portugal to concede that right without delay. Some heads of government felt that the situation in South Africa, if continued, would endanger peace and security and pointed to the threats which they felt were posed to their countries by the armed forces of South Africa and Portugal.

Migration

Informal discussions took place outside the meeting between some Commonwealth countries on certain problems of migration between those Commonwealth countries. The Secretary-General was requested by the countries engaged in these discussions to examine, in consultation with representatives of those countries, general principles relating to short- and long-term movement of people between their countries and to consider the possibility of exploring ways and means of studying this subject on a continuing basis with a view to providing relevant information to those governments.

The prime ministers re-affirmed the declaration made in the communiqués of 1964 and 1965 that for all Commonwealth governments it should be an objective of policy to build in each country a structure for society which offers equal opportunity and non-discrimination for all its people, irrespective of race, colour or creed. The Commonwealth should be able to exercise constructive leadership in the application of democratic principles in a manner which will enable the people of each country of different racial and cultural groups to exist and develop as free and equal citizens.

Economic Affairs

Heads of government held a general discussion on the world economic situation and broadly reviewed recent developments and trends. They agreed that the representative character of the Commonwealth and its tradition of informed and sympathetic interest in the problems of development make it a most valuable forum for constructive discussion and a useful instrument for co-operative endeavour.

They noted that, early last year in Delhi, during UNCTAD II, Commonwealth ministers had exchanged views on some of the problems affecting trade and development of member countries, and that, more recently, Commonwealth finance ministers, at their annual meeting held in London, had a full discussion of the world economic situation, with special reference to international monetary problems, development and aid.

Heads of government were concerned that the gap between the rich and poor was widening, but were encouraged by growing recognition of the increasing interdependence of nations. Greater co-operative action was vital to ensure economic progress and prosperity on which stability and peace so largely depend. Postponement of adequate and united efforts would lead to greater political and economic problems.

They took note of the fact that developing countries of the Commonwealth

were making efforts to help themselves. They were steadily laying the groundwork of future self-sustained growth by paying increasing attention to agriculture, education, population control and administration and institutional reforms. It was, therefore, hoped that, if they were assisted by appropriate international measures, they would be in a position during the decade of the 1970s to achieve higher rates of economic growth.

Heads of government noted the growing movement towards greater regional co-operation among the developing countries of the Commonwealth. This represented a valuable form of self-help on the part of the developing countries.

Heads of government recognized that the results of UNCTAD II had been very disappointing to the developing countries. While there had been agreement on the need to evolve an international policy for development and a global strategy to implement it, little progress had been made in achieving this. On the other hand, UNCTAD II had mapped out certain promising lines of approach.

They stressed the need to give practical effect to the unanimous agreements reached in principle at UNCTAD II. They expressed the hope that it would soon be possible to conclude successfully the negotiations on a scheme of generalized preferences which would be of benefit to all developing countries and which would provide compensation for the less-developed countries whose export trade might be adversely affected by the introduction of such a scheme. They agreed that close and continuous consultations among Commonwealth countries would be necessary during the consideration of the scheme of generalized preferences. They emphasized the importance of continuing consultation at the Trade and Development Board and other organs of UNCTAD and asked the Secretary-General to maintain close contacts with these and other international agencies in order to keep these developments under review.

Heads of government agreed that the first Development Decade had fallen short of expectations in achieving practical results. They hoped, however, that the experience gained would help in the identification of areas of development and the strategy to which urgent attention needs to be directed with a view to achieving greater concrete results during the second Development Decade.

It was recognized that the terms of trade had moved against some countries of the Commonwealth that depend to a great extent on the export of primary products. More orderly and satisfactory markets for primary products were crucial for Commonwealth countries. Recognizing the present unsatisfactory state of major export markets for many primary products, heads of government stressed the need for further efforts by Commonwealth countries in international forums to secure improved conditions for international commodity trade, including better access to markets in both developed and developing countries and equitable and stable prices for primary products. They expressed gratification at the extension of the Commonwealth Sugar Agreement, which has always been of special interest to the Commonwealth producer countries. They welcomed the recent conclusion of the International Sugar Agreement and

expressed the hope that those governments which had not already signed it would do so. They further hoped that other commodities of special economic importance to Commonwealth countries would be covered similarly by suitable international arrangements, which arrangements would be pursued and be supported by Commonwealth countries.

In this connection, they noted recent developments in the negotiations for the conclusion of an International Agreement on Cocoa. They urged all parties to the negotiations to intensify their efforts to reach a speedy agreement, on the progress of which the Secretary-General should keep members fully informed.

Heads of government welcomed the liberalization of trade in respect of manufactured products consequent on the conclusion of the Kennedy Round of negotiations, and hoped that this process of trade liberalization would be carried further in respect of all products. They regretted, however, that these negotiations had produced no significant benefits for most developing countries. They expressed the hope that continuing efforts would be made under the auspices of GATT and UNCTAD to enable developing countries to secure improved access for their products to international markets with a view to increasing their foreign exchange earnings, while making every effort to increase trade among themselves.

They stressed the dangers of excessive protectionism in a number of foreign industrialized countries for agricultural products of export interest to Commonwealth countries.

While it was recognized that Commonwealth trade must be seen in the larger context of global trade, of which it was a vital part, they agreed that there was continuing scope for the expansion of Commonwealth trade, and for this purpose there was need to strengthen the well-established links amongst Commonwealth members.

Heads of government took note of the Secretary-General's report that in pursuance of an earlier decision, the Secretariat had begun a study on the feasibility of Commonwealth co-operation to assist in trade promotion. They looked forward to the completion of this study.

The meeting took note of the special difficulties of Lesotho and other landlocked Commonwealth African countries. These countries expressed the hope that all concerned would find it possible to accede to or ratify the International Convention on the Transit Trade of Landlocked Countries. Heads of government hoped that all countries concerned would make every effort to provide adequate transit facilities to the trade of such landlocked countries.

Heads of government reiterated the importance of continuing close consultation by the British Government with Commonwealth governments in regard to developments of interest to them concerning the British application for entry into the European Economic Community.

In discussing the international monetary situation, heads of government stressed the importance of restoring stability in world payments, and of adapting

the world monetary system to meet evolving needs. They stressed the need for providing adequate international liquidity for implementing and activating, as early as practicable, the scheme for special drawing rights through the IMF to supplement reserve assets. They regretted that it had not been possible as yet to get the necessary broad international agreement on a special link between international action to increase liquidity and the needs of developing countries. They hoped that further consideration would be given to establishing such a link.

They expressed the hope that more liberal trade policies would follow from improvements in the international payments system.

Some heads of government felt that Commonwealth countries should call for a world monetary conference, open to all members of the IMF, to reappraise the world monetary system since Bretton Woods and to make recommendations for its improvement, and that there should be a Commonwealth meeting prior to such a conference. Others, while sympathizing with these objectives, felt that it would be inappropriate to attempt to achieve them through such a conference and that it would be better to continue official discussions through existing channels.

The meeting discussed international assistance for economic development, and noted with concern that the net transfer of resources from industrialized to developing countries had stagnated at a level which was inadequate to facilitate an acceptable rate of economic development in the developing countries. A critical situation was emerging for a number of countries because of the burden of debt servicing. Heads of government expressed the hope that countries which had not already done so would be in a position to signify their acceptance of an early date for complying with the UNCTAD resolution on the target of one per cent of gross national product at market prices. They stressed the urgency of the replenishment of the resources of the International Development Association and expressed the hope that all countries concerned would follow the lead already given by some in effecting such replenishment.

Heads of government noted with approval the recent tendency on the part of some Commonwealth countries to soften the terms of their loans which they were extending to the less-developed Commonwealth countries. They considered that Commonwealth donor countries should take the lead in seeking further improvements in the terms of international aid generally, and hoped that donor governments would view sympathetically in appropriate cases the granting of more flexible terms.

Heads of government expressed the hope that the consideration of the scheme of supplementary financing would lead to early results of benefit to developing countries.

They welcomed the appointment of an international commission by the World Bank to review the total aid experience of the past two decades and to make recommendations for future aid proposals, and were particularly grati-

fied that a former colleague, the Right Honourable Lester B. Pearson, was presiding over the Commission's work.

Commonwealth Co-operation

Heads of government reviewed the extensive co-operation which exists among Commonwealth countries in such areas as technical assistance, education, science, medicine, law and many other functional fields. Such co-operation is facilitated and rendered more fruitful by the advantages the Commonwealth association offers — a common working language, similar traditions in government, administration, educational methods, and the organization of the professions. With the increasing membership of the Commonwealth and the potentially wider areas of co-operation, they recognized the importance of seeking ways and means of achieving more effective co-operation among members in all fields.

Much was being done through bilateral arrangements between member countries. The meeting noted that intra-Commonwealth official bilateral assistance, which accounts, on the average, for about 85 per cent of the total of such assistance provided by Commonwealth members in all developing countries, had increased in 1967 and 1968, and they hoped that this would continue to grow.

They also reaffirmed the value of programmes of specifically Commonwealth effort in certain fields. An example would be increasing application of the principle of third-party financing, as a useful mechanism for bringing qualified experts and important tasks together quickly and efficiently. Third-party financing, by which experts from one country can be financed, wholly or in part, by another, can significantly enlarge the pool of expertise available for technical assistance arrangements by drawing on skills available in developing countries. These skills, moreover, are often of particular relevance to the needs of other developing countries. The meeting agreed that early consideration should be given to the extension of the principle of third-party financing to education, training and consultations. This would allow students to be trained in surroundings and under conditions more appropriate to their future employment, and in this way ease the problem of the brain-drain.

The meeting noted several examples of mutual assistance which had already grown up among developing members of the Commonwealth. The Commonwealth programme of technical co-operation, which had been established within the Secretariat the previous year and on which the Secretary-General submitted a progress report, was a further step in building on the special advantages which the Commonwealth affords. A number of them underlined the particular usefulness of the programme to the smaller members. They noted that a review of this programme was to be carried out later this year.

The meeting also considered a number of proposals for strengthening Commonwealth co-operation in specific fields.

They agreed that the nature and work of the Commonwealth should be

more widely known in member countries. They approved in principle the proposal by Guyana for a Commonwealth Information Programme, and authorized the Secretary-General to appoint an information officer and to undertake in consultation with governments a study of the implications of a programme as proposed.

Heads of government also welcomed in principle the proposals submitted by Pakistan on co-operation in the fields of mass communication and education, and asked the Secretary-General to undertake studies in detail and in consultation with Commonwealth governments.

The meeting had before it three proposals by Britain for increased Commonwealth co-operation. The first was for extension of co-operation in the legal field. This proposal involved the establishment of a small legal section in the Secretariat, which was agreed to, and a conference on legal education, to which further consideration should be given.

The second British proposal was for regional centres for the teaching of English and the teaching of science, which was welcomed in principle, and which it was agreed should be considered further by the Commonwealth Education Liaison Committee and the Secretariat.

The third British proposal was for a series of studies on the problems of youth. The meeting asked the Secretary-General to examine its feasibility, taking into account the work in this field undertaken by other international organizations.

In addition, the meeting discussed proposals for a Commonwealth book-development programme designed to assist developing Commonwealth countries to obtain books and journals for educational and research purposes. The meeting asked the Secretary-General to undertake studies in detail in conjunction with the Commonwealth Education Liaison Committee, convening expert working parties where necessary. The Secretary-General was asked to include in these studies the implications of the ratification of the Protocol to the Berne Copyright Convention.

Heads of government took note of the second report of the Secretary-General and the report of the Commonwealth Foundation.

The meeting also expressed appreciation of the valuable contribution to the strengthening of Commonwealth co-operation and understanding being made by the Commonwealth Parliamentary Association. As an independent association of parliamentarians, it provides unique opportunity for the sharing of experience, the discussion of common problems and the development of personal links, to the benefit both of its members and of the people they represent.

They expressed high appreciation with the work of the Commonwealth Secretary-General and his colleagues, which they thought more than adequately justified the decision to establish the Secretariat.

Inauguration of President Nixon

CANADIAN OFFICIAL GREETINGS

The inauguration of President Richard M. Nixon on January 20, 1969, occasioned messages from Governor-General Roland Michener and Prime Minister Pierre Elliott Trudeau conveying to the new President the best wishes of the Canadian people and Government. The Speaker of the Senate, Senator Jean-Paul Deschatelets, sent a similar note to Vice-President Spiro Agnew.

Farewell messages to President Lyndon B. Johnson and Vice-President Hubert H. Humphrey had been delivered three days earlier.

The texts of the message of the Governor-General and of the Prime Minister's messages to Presidents Johnson and Nixon follow :

Governor-General to President Nixon

For myself, and on behalf of all Canadians, I should like to assure you of our warm good wishes for your health, happiness and success in the great office to which you have been elected and which you will assume officially on January 20.

As near neighbours, friends and allies, we look forward to the continuation and extension, during your tenure of the Presidency, of the co-operation between our countries and our citizens which has long been characteristic of relations between Canada and the United States of America.

Prime Minister to President Johnson

As you relinquish the heavy responsibilities of the Presidency, I want to express to you, on behalf of the Canadian Government, our deep appreciation for the friendship and understanding for our country which you have shown during your service as President.

We remember, in particular, your visits to both our West and East Coasts, as well as to Ottawa and Montreal.

Canadians join in wishing you and Mrs. Johnson much happiness and satisfaction in the new endeavours on which you are now embarking.

Prime Minister to President Nixon

As you assume the Presidency of your country, I extend to you and Mrs. Nixon the best wishes of the Canadian Government and your Canadian friends and neighbours. I look forward to working with you for the benefit of both our countries and for peace and justice in the world.

United Nations General Assembly

TWENTY-THIRD SESSION — APPRAISAL

WHEN the twenty-third session of the United Nations General Assembly opened on September 20, 1968, it was realized that world conditions were unfavourable to conspicuous achievement. At the session's close on December 20, the President of the Assembly, Foreign Minister Arevnale of Guatemala, said that it had been peaceful by virtue of the items considered but that there had been an "unrealistic" and "emotional" approach on the part of the majority of delegations. The atmosphere was "peaceful", and relatively free from acrimony, because of the absence from the agenda of a number of controversial issues that engrossed world attention outside the Assembly. These included: the civil war in Nigeria, which the Nigerians and most other African members wished to exclude from consideration by the United Nations; the situation in Czechoslovakia, which did, however, influence even seemingly unrelated questions; the continuing stalemate in the Middle East, with which the Security Council remains intimately concerned, and the war in Vietnam. The twenty-third session was, however, beset with other difficult and intractable problems. The hard-core colonial and racial problems of southern Africa; the lingering disappointment of the developing countries with the limited accomplishment of the Second United Nations Conference on Trade and Development; the increasingly vocal dissatisfaction of many non-nuclear powers with the Non-Proliferation Treaty, and the lack of progress by the nuclear powers on disarmament issues.

Political Questions

Confronted by these limitations, and other factors such as the preoccupation of the United States with a Presidential election, the Assembly tried to deal with a crowded agenda of 98 items. Increasingly serious breaches of the cease-fire in the Middle East by both sides led members of the Security Council, especially the permanent members, to intensify efforts to support Ambassador Jarring in the promotion of a peaceful settlement. In deference to the Jarring mission, Item 95, on the situation in the Middle East, which had been carried over from the previous session, was deferred to the next Assembly session without debate. However, opposing sides in the Middle East had ample opportunity to air their views in the Special Political Committee, where the report of the United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine (UNRWA) was discussed for almost six weeks. At the end, the UNRWA mandate was again extended for three years. The Special Political Committee also adopted a resolution continuing the work of the Committee of 33 on Peace-

keeping Operations, whose studies on United Nations military observer missions shows promise.

Problems of Environment

The twenty-third session directed a good deal of its attention to a consideration of environmental problems in the broadest sense, ranging from the sea-bed and ocean-floor to human environment and outer space. After lengthy negotiations, agreement was finally reached on the establishment of a permanent committee on the peaceful uses of the sea-bed and ocean-floor beyond the limits of national jurisdiction, with the task of studying the legal, technological, economic and disarmament aspects of this subject and making recommendations to the next Assembly session. Canada will initially be a member of the Committee, though membership is subject to rotation. During the discussion of outer space, the Canadian delegation participated actively in efforts which led to Assembly endorsement of a Canadian-Swedish initiative to establish a working group on direct broadcasting from satellites.

The urgent problem of human environment was brought before the United Nations for the first time. Under the leadership of Sweden, and with the co-operation of Canada, a resolution was drawn up which obtained 52 co-sponsors and was adopted unanimously. This resolution recognizes the need for intensified action at the national, regional and international levels to limit and, where possible, terminate the impairment of the human environment by air and water pollution, soil erosion, waste, noise and the use of biocides. It also provides for the convening in 1972 of the first International Conference on Human Environment. The Canadian statement placed strong emphasis on the problems of water pollution and outlined Canada's experience in developing anti-pollution programmes in co-operation with the United States.

Disarmament

Several resolutions were adopted on disarmament, the most important of which urged bilateral negotiations between the principal nuclear powers regarding the limitation of strategic nuclear arms. Some preparatory work by the Secretariat was also authorized in the form of two reports — one on the consequences of the use of chemical and biological weapons, the other on the economic and scientific benefits of nuclear technology.

Obviously dissatisfied with what they regarded as the discriminatory feature of the Nuclear Proliferation Treaty, as well as by the lack of progress in disarmament, some non-nuclear states called for the reconvening of the Disarmament Commission to maintain pressure both on the nuclear powers and on the Eighteen-Nation Disarmament Committee in Geneva, in order to achieve more significant progress on arms-control and disarmament measures. The outcome was the decision to place the question of reconvening the Commission on the agenda of the twenty-fourth General Assembly.

Economics and Development

The most controversial and divisive issue of the session was a move by the developing countries, launched in the Second Committee, to have the General Assembly confirm the attempt they had made at New Delhi to suspend South Africa from the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD). This was a reflection of the determination of the developing countries, particularly the African members, to have the United Nations take punitive action against South Africa because of its racial policies. Western delegations, while sharing in the abhorrence of *apartheid*, were concerned, as were a number of delegations from all groups, at the serious legal and constitutional issues raised by this attempt to curtail the rights and privileges of membership provided by the Charter.

The draft resolution did not follow the Charter provisions requiring action by the Security Council on suspension of membership, which were held to apply also to membership in subsidiary bodies. Western delegations contended that the motion was an abuse of the powers of the General Assembly. The degree of Afro-Asian feeling on this issue was reflected in their insistence on pressing this proposal to a vote despite an opinion of the Legal Counsel of the United Nations along the above lines. In an effort to avoid a confrontation on this issue, Canada introduced in plenary a procedural motion to defer a decision on the resolution. The motion failed to carry by a small margin (47 in favour to 52 against, with 23 abstentions). The President ruled that the issue was an "important question" under Article 18(2), and his ruling was upheld by 56 (Canada) to 48, with 13 abstentions. The resolution itself failed to obtain the two-thirds majority needed for adoption as an "important question". The vote was 55 in favour of expulsion to 33 (including Canada) opposed, with 28 abstentions. The large number of abstentions, as well as the number of delegations that, while voting in favour of suspension, supported the President's ruling, illustrated the extent of the concern over the implications of this issue for the United Nations.

In the economic field, the twenty-third session made little progress towards narrowing the growing gap between developing and developed countries. Canada's increasing contribution to international aid and development seems to have been recognized, in that Canada was unanimously elected to preside over the pledging conference for the United Nations Development Programme.

The debates in the Second Committee continued to reflect the basic difference of approach between developing and developed countries toward UN handling of economic problems. The former pressed for increased activities (and hence increased expenditure) by the UN and related bodies, particularly UNCTAD and the UN Industrial Development Organization (UNIDO), and for greater financial commitments and economic concessions by developed countries. The latter resisted, holding that many of the proposals were unrealistic or redundant. The result was often a compromise resolution

not really satisfactory to either group. As at previous sessions, the East European states, though expressing sympathy for the aims of the developing countries, often voted with Western delegations. Near the end of the session, the Soviet Union mounted an unsuccessful campaign to permit the participation of East Germany in UN economic activities.

A number of important resolutions were passed. Several of these were designed to implement, or at least to carry further forward, recommendations contained in reports submitted to the Assembly by the Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC), such as proposals dealing with the Second Development Decade, effective use of the resources of the sea, the impact on development of the so-called "brain drain", increased multilateral food aid and expanded production of edible protein. On the last subject, Canada presented a draft resolution; the delegation played a leading role in the consultations that led to the resolution adopted by the Assembly. Other resolutions, some of which were controversial, resulted from recommendations by subsidiary bodies such as UNCTAD and UNIDO.

Characteristic of the session was the manner in which the developing countries, in the Second Committee and elsewhere, sought to maintain and even reinforce their voting unity. The result of this policy was that many draft resolutions were prepared and agreed on by that group before they were made available for comment by members of other groups. In consequence, the preparation of resolutions was greatly complicated and general agreement could not be reached on the wording of several texts.

The most important resolution adopted in the economic field was that on the Second Development Decade, which set up a preparatory committee to draft an international development strategy for the 1970s and gave general directives to all UN bodies regarding the preparation of plans for the Second Development Decade to begin in 1970.

One of the most positive accomplishments of the session was a widely supported decision, sponsored by Canada, to recommend a number of reforms in the organization and working methods of the Second Committee. If these proposals are implemented, the work of the Committee in the future should be considerably more efficient and productive.

Human Rights

The Third Committee registered some positive results with the adoption of a Convention on War Crimes and Crimes against Humanity and two resolutions dealing with capital punishment. The Committee adopted the preamble and Part I of the Declaration on Social Progress and Development, in the discussion of which Canada played an active role. The Declaration is scheduled to be concluded during the Assembly's twenty-fourth session. The Third Committee also debated the results of the International Year for Human Rights (1967) and adopted a number of resolutions that had been discussed at the International

Conference on Human Rights in Tehran in the spring of 1968. One of these was a Canadian-sponsored draft resolution recommending that governments encourage the development of comprehensive legal aid systems for the protection of human rights and fundamental freedoms. Canada co-sponsored a resolution calling for high priority to be given at the twenty-fourth session of the General Assembly to the question of the creation of the post of High Commissioner for Human Rights. The debate on natural disasters gave Canada and Norway the opportunity to suggest the need for greater international co-operation in cases of major disaster, including those suffered by civilians as a result of war.

Colonial Issues

In the Fourth Committee, Canada associated itself with the aims of the African majority by supporting the interim resolution on Rhodesia affirming that independence should not be granted to that country without the assurance that effective government would be transferred to the majority (NIBMAR). In so doing, Canada parted company with most Western countries. Canadian support for this resolution may have contributed in some measure to the consultations that subsequently took place between African and Western delegations on the terms of a resolution concerning the Portuguese African territories. These consultations resulted in the tabling of a resolution that Canada, the Nordic countries and several other Western delegations were able to support, and on which all other Western countries were able to abstain. Although this spirit of co-operation remained alive, subsequent opportunities for real co-operation between the Afro-Asian and the Western groups were infrequent.

On Gibraltar a resolution favourable to the Spanish case and calling on Britain to relinquish control of the territory to Spain by October 1, 1969, was adopted, despite efforts by Guyana to reach a compromise acceptable to Britain and Spain. Canada voted, like most other Western delegations, against the resolution.

The Fourth Committee adopted two resolutions, on Papua and New Guinea. One, promoted by the United Arab Republic, was critical of Australia's administration of the territory, while the other, sponsored by Liberia, recognized Australia's efforts and its intention of bringing the territory to independence as soon as practicable. The Liberian resolution was defeated in plenary because it failed to secure a two-thirds majority (as an "important question" under the trusteeship provisions of Article 18). The U.A.R. resolution was approved over the opposition of Canada and other Western delegations.

Administrative and Budgetary Matters

Overshadowing the debates in the Fifth Committee was the question of the budget level for the United Nations for 1969. The Secretary-General's initial estimate had been \$140.5 million, approximately equal to the final figure for

1968. Because of the financial implications of resolutions adopted by the Economic and Social Council and other bodies, as well as by the Assembly, the 1969 budget estimates rose to a record figure of about \$155 million. Major increases were due to an enlargement of staff in the United Nations and UNIDO, a rise in appropriations for technical assistance programmes, and measures to promote a more balanced use of the official languages.

Several Western delegations, including the Canadian, expressed concern at the rising level of UN expenditure and suggested that it would be necessary to examine proposals for increases more carefully in future. There, as elsewhere, the developing countries were able to ensure passage of resolutions and proposals by the use of their voting power.

Following a great deal of consideration by French-speaking delegations, including Canada, proposals were advanced to elevate the status of French as one of the Secretariat's two working languages. The outcome was a compromise proposal, adopted by a large majority, which provides for accelerated promotion for Secretariat professional personnel who are, or become, proficient in any two of the five official languages. Another resolution decided that Russian should be included among the working languages of the General Assembly (in addition to its previous status as an official language) and recommended to the Security Council that both Russian and Spanish be made working, as well as official, languages in that body. A similar proposal for Chinese was rejected. Canada co-sponsored the first proposal and voted in favour of the second.

Legal Questions

The Sixth Committee devoted considerable attention to a draft convention on special missions, the first occasion on which it had undertaken the drafting of an international convention. The slow rate of progress on this issue and the complicated procedural discussions that developed suggest that the Sixth Committee may not be as effective a body for negotiating an international convention as a conference convened for the purpose. Not only was it impossible to complete work on the convention but the time spent on it meant that discussion of other topics by the Sixth Committee was to some extent limited.

During the debate on the defining of aggression, and to a lesser degree in the discussion of the report of the Special Committee on Friendly Relations references were made to the invasion of Czechoslovakia. A notable effort was made by the non-aligned nations to take account of the views of Western countries in the drafting of resolutions on both subjects. Consequently, it was possible for all Western delegations either to vote in favour of the resolution on aggression or to abstain and for unanimous approval to be given to the resolution on friendly relations, which had co-sponsorship from all groups.

Apart from matters taken up by the Sixth Committee, other subjects with

important legal implications were dealt with in other committees of the General Assembly. Among these were the resolutions in the First Committee on the peaceful uses of outer space and of the sea-bed and the ocean-floor beyond the limits of national jurisdiction; the attempt in the Second Committee to exclude South Africa from UNCTAD; and the resolutions relating to war crimes, capital punishment, human rights in armed conflict and *apartheid* debated in the Third Committee.

General Comments

In the opinion of many delegations, the twenty-third session of the United Nations General Assembly had been an unusually quiet one. In view of the frustration felt by many members at the inability of the United Nations to contribute to a peaceful settlement of several major world issues, it is perhaps not surprising that the session was not conspicuously productive. In the long run, it may be remembered principally for the initiative of convening an International Conference on Human Environment and for the modest progress it made in the field of disarmament.

A Fresh Look at Canada's Relations with Europe

INTRODUCTORY REMARKS BY THE SECRETARY OF STATE
FOR EXTERNAL AFFAIRS, THE HONOURABLE MITCHELL SHARP,
AT THE OPENING OF A SEMINAR ON RELATIONS WITH EUROPE,
HULL, QUEBEC, JANUARY 3, 1969.

I WELCOME the opportunity which your Chairman has provided to say something about the importance the Government attaches to the discussions about Canadian relations with Europe which you are starting today. We are grateful to academic participants for their willingness to come here at this time. We are grateful also to the Canadian Institute of International Affairs, in particular, and to other organizations for the part they have played in making arrangements for this meeting.

When the Government decided, shortly after the last election, to undertake a review of foreign policy, we did so because of the conviction that profound changes had been taking place in Canada and in the world around us in recent years. We want to be sure that our foreign policy is appropriate to the situation in which we find ourselves today and that it serves effectively Canada's current interests, objectives and priorities.

Method of Approach

Having taken a decision to review our foreign policy, we had to settle on a method of approach. Foreign policy is, in fact, not a single entity but a collection of policies designed to deal with various aspects of our relations with the rest of the world. We lump these together under the convenient title of "foreign policy", although there is not likely to be any single set of policy decisions which will cover all the situations we encounter in this increasingly complex world. When we set out to review our foreign policy, therefore, we had to break the subject down by some means. We might have started by looking at our own country to determine what kind of people we are, what are our interests and needs, what are our strengths and weaknesses and, consequently, what role we are best suited to play in world affairs. Alternatively, we could begin by looking at the world around us to determine what kind of situation we are living in, what changes are taking place or ought to take place, and what kind of world we should like to see. One cannot separate these two approaches. They are both essential components of any foreign policy. We have chosen to concentrate first on the world in which we find ourselves, rather than begin by an attempt at national self-

examination, which could prove to be an artificial exercise if it were not related to the actual state of the world.

One of the first steps we took in breaking down the broad subject of foreign policy into areas for intensive study was to set up a Special Task Force on Canada's Relations with Europe. Obviously, there are few parts of the world in which change has been so noticeable in recent years as in Europe; there are few areas where Canada's existing relations are so diverse and extensive; there are few areas where Canadian foreign policy has been so much a subject for debate.

We have the additional reason for assigning first priority to Europe that, at the same time, the Government is undertaking a review of defence policy. A very large and important part of Canada's defence effort is directed towards Europe in pursuance of the commitments we have made as a member of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization. It was, therefore, important that, at the same time as we were reviewing our defence policy, we should review our relations with Europe in the political, economic and other fields which are inevitably intermingled with our defence commitments.

The Special Task Force on Europe is made up of senior officials representing those government departments with special interests in our relations with Europe. It is under the joint chairmanship of Mr. Robert Ford, our Ambassador to the U.S.S.R., and Mr. Paul Tremblay, our Ambassador to Belgium. External Affairs supplies the secretariat and the Task Force will report through me to the Prime Minister and the Government. The officials here today are members of the Task Force and senior officers of External Affairs directly concerned with our relations with Europe.

Work of Task Force

The Task Force began its work last summer and since then has compiled, probably for the first time, a comprehensive inventory of our past and present relations with the countries of Eastern and Western Europe (including Britain) and with European organizations. In the process of collating this material, certain major issues have emerged and it is with a view to having these issues discussed that this seminar has been organized. The Task Force and the Government will then have the benefit of your views when they proceed to draw conclusions from the review of European policy.

It is to inform and stimulate this discussion that a background paper and a series of five discussion papers were prepared on the official side and circulated in time for you to reflect on them before coming here. I wish to emphasize that they were not designed to express official positions or to suggest conclusions or to prejudice your discussions in any way but only to focus discussion on the issues that appear to the Task Force to be among the most important. They do not exclude your raising other issues or suggesting other approaches.

In this spirit, it may be helpful if I say a word about our objectives and interests in Europe, which are closely related to the topics figuring on your

agenda. To begin with, there are two basic Canadian problems which are inter-related and which have important external aspects : the problem of national unity and the problem of national identity. The first involves the reflection in our foreign policy of the bilingual nature of Canada and has particular reference to our relations with France. The second involves the difficulty a country in Canada's position encounters in creating and projecting a distinctive way of life. This difficulty has been aggravated by the considerable increase in our relations with the United States since the last World War and by the relative increase in the power and influence in world affairs of that country during this period. It is a question whether Canada should seek to develop its interests in other parts of the world, and particularly in Europe, as a counterweight to the increasing influence of the United States.

We have a security interest in Europe, and here our objective is to do our share to maintain peace or contain conflicts which could lead to a global war. This objective has implications for the role we play in East-West relations and for our relations with the countries of Eastern Europe. It also has implications for our defence relations with Western Europe and our future role in NATO. What these implications are is, of course, a matter for discussion at this seminar.

We also have economic objectives, which might be described as seeking to obtain the most favourable impact of activities in Europe on the Canadian economy. One-fifth of Canada's export trade is carried on with European countries, including Britain. Europe is, therefore, after the United States, our most important export market.

Finally, there is an interest in Europe which relates to the international role which Canada plays in the maintenance of a free and stable society based on the rule of law. In the pursuit of this objective, Canada participates in international organizations, aid programmes and peacekeeping operations. We also engage in cultural and information programmes for the purpose of encouraging human relations between countries. These give an external dimension to our culture and provide a basis of mutual understanding which tends to support our foreign policy initiatives.

Non-European Policy

I expect that participants in this seminar, as well as other interested individuals throughout the country, might ask when there will be discussions about aspects of our foreign policy other than relations with Europe and whether, on the governmental side, there is an interest in continuing such exchanges beyond the present period of major review of policy. We have indeed been considering such possibilities in other areas of the review, and we intend, with the advice of interested non-governmental organizations, to involve specialists in other fields in discussions of other sectors of policy.

In the near future we hope to convene a meeting similar to this one to discuss Canadian relations with Latin America. Mr. George Ignatieff, who has been

Canada's Permanent Representative to the United Nations in New York, is returning to Ottawa shortly to start the process of examining Canada's role in the United Nations. After the preparatory work has advanced sufficiently far under his direction, we shall seek to consult knowledgeable persons outside the Government on that aspect of our foreign policy.

The development of closer relations on a permanent basis between those who teach and do research about international affairs and those who advise and carry out the decisions of government in this same field is something to which I attribute considerable importance. Foreign policy must, in a very real sense, be constantly under review. We cannot regulate the world by our own decisions. One review of policy cannot provide all the solutions in advance to problems of the Canadian response to unpredictable situations.

Several of you from universities will be aware of the informal consultations which officers of the Department of External Affairs have carried out with individual faculty members in the past year about the means of developing closer relations. These are parallel, of course, to initiatives which I know other agencies of the Government represented here today have taken to develop contacts with the academic community.

Principles of Exchange

From those consultations engaged in by my own Department, and from examination within the Department of the reasons which, from our own standpoint, make closer relations desirable, we have drawn some conclusions. We should like to continue the type of exchange which this present seminar represents. There is an increasingly varied range of discussion about international affairs sponsored by universities, learned societies and organizations such as the Canadian Institute of International Affairs. The Department of External Affairs derives benefit now from having officers attend a number of such meetings at the invitation of the sponsors. If sponsors of such meetings wish, from time to time, to arrange discussions, more or less under the conditions characterizing this present seminar, involving officials and those with similar interests from the universities and elsewhere, we shall be glad to consider co-operative arrangements within the limits of our own resources.

I have examined other means of developing exchanges in what I hope could be a mutually-profitable manner. I should like to have some officers from the Department of External Affairs freed from normal operational responsibilities at home or abroad to spend a year examining, in a more reflective way, the best ways of achieving Canadian objectives in areas in which they already have knowledge and experience. I think that a "sabbatical" year of this type would be a good deal more profitable if the officer concerned were to leave Ottawa and live on a university campus. The resources for formal research there, added to the opportunity for continuing discussions with faculty members and informal involvement in university life with a different environment of thought, would

certainly stimulate the examination in depth of Canadian objectives and techniques which I should like to encourage. At the same time, through such exchanges an experienced foreign service officer can make his contribution to a better understanding of world affairs and Canadian involvement in them.

I believe also that, to enable the Department of External Affairs to keep up with a steadily-increasing volume of study and with changing methods of research in international relations and area studies, it would be desirable to have academic specialists speak to groups in the Department and perhaps to add their contribution to the training and orientation given new foreign service officers before they undertake their first assignments abroad.

We have been examining other projects, but this is not the occasion for a general review of relations between the Department of External Affairs and the universities. I wanted primarily to ensure that you would see this seminar not as an isolated occurrence involving a relatively small number of individuals discussing a complex subject in a couple of days but as part of a process. With the continuing friendly co-operation of the organizations we have recently consulted and others, we hope to ensure that, over a period of time, we shall develop those wide and varied contacts on which real communication about matters of common interest depends

I hope . . . that the academic participants in this seminar will, in due course, write about their experience here as a means of fostering wider discussion. The deliberations taking place over this weekend are not secret. It is true that, to make the seminar as frank and fruitful as possible, it is being operated under the rules of the Canadian Institute of International Affairs, which preclude attribution of opinions to specific individuals. With this stipulation, it is the Government's hope that these informal discussions will lead to a more pointed and better-informed dialogue in the country as a whole. I also expect that the Parliamentary Committee on Foreign Affairs and Defence will have a series of meetings at which interested and qualified private individuals and groups will be invited to state their views and reply to questions. It may well be that some of you will wish to state publicly then the views you will be expressing more privately here.

I hope that this will be an open seminar. It would be unfortunate, I think, if officials here felt that they had to take a defensive position and our academic friends felt it incumbent upon themselves to be on the attack. Useful discussion calls for frankness, for sharp interchanges and lively debate. All of these there will be but not always, I hope, from predetermined positions

New Canadian Measures against Rhodesia

ON December 31, 1968, the Department of External Affairs announced the adoption, under the United Nations Act, 1947, of Order-in-Council PC 1968-2339 dated December 20, which will implement Security Council Resolution 253 of May 29, 1968. The resolution, which provided for comprehensive sanctions against trade and financial relations with Rhodesia, was adopted by the Security Council under Chapter VII of the United Nations Charter. Compliance with its mandatory provisions is an international legal obligation on all United Nations members. The sanctions are intended to persuade the illegal regime of Mr. Ian Smith and his associates, through pressure on Rhodesia's economy, to give up their rebellion and permit a return to constitutional government.

The resolution of May 29 imposed few new obligations on Canada, which has had a complete trade embargo (with certain humanitarian exceptions) against Rhodesia since February 1966. In response to a Security Council resolution of December 16, 1966, a set of regulations governing trade with Rhodesia and certain extraterritorial activities of Canadian citizens was established under Order-in-Council PC 1967-323 of February 21, 1967.

New Regulations

The Rhodesia regulations which have now been adopted maintain these features of the previous ones. ⁽¹⁾ A new aspect involves financial transactions. It is now illegal for Canadians to send money to Rhodesia unless it is for the purpose of pension or annuity benefits or for medical, educational or humanitarian purposes. Another provision of the new regulations is designed to prevent flights by Canadian aircraft to Rhodesia and the co-ordination of air-services between Canadian and Rhodesian aircraft.

The Government also intends, by administrative action for which it already has legislative authority, to implement the Security Council's prohibition on the entry to Canada of persons travelling on Rhodesian passports and of persons, other than Canadians, who have assisted, or may assist, the unlawful actions of the illegal regime.

The regulations provide for application to the Minister of Trade and Commerce for a ruling whether, in borderline cases, a particular act is prohibited.

¹⁾ Their full text appeared in the *Canada Gazette* of January 8, 1969.

International Year for Human Rights

IN 1963, in the conviction that it would be an appropriate way of celebrating the twentieth anniversary of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the General Assembly of the United Nations designated 1968 the International Year for Human Rights. Member states were invited to intensify their domestic efforts to extend human rights, so that a fuller and more effective realization of these rights and freedoms might be reported at the proposed international review in 1968 and thereafter. The programme was based on the assumption that the measures and activities to be undertaken throughout the International Year for Human Rights would encourage, both nationally and internationally, the protection and extension of human rights and fundamental freedoms. Its aim was to dramatize universal respect for the observance of human rights and fundamental freedoms for all, without distinction as to race, sex, language or religion.

In Canada, the Federal Government encouraged the formation of an independent, non-governmental association to co-ordinate and promote the year's activities across the country, and this led to the creation of a Canadian Commission for the International Year of Human Rights.

Canada was chosen as the locale for the World Assembly for Human Rights, which met in Montreal from March 22 to 27, 1968, and was attended by numerous world leaders of the human rights movement. The Montreal meeting was a preliminary to the International Conference on the Rights of Man, convened by the United Nations in Tehran at the end of April.

Canada at Tehran

At the Tehran Conference, Canada was responsible for introducing a resolution urging all countries to develop legal aid systems. It was pointed out that the provision of legal services to individuals was an important factor in the protection of human rights. Canada also co-sponsored two other resolutions, one dealing with protection of the rights of refugees and the other with fuller implementation of the rights of the child. The Tehran Conference was also valuable because, as Mr. G. Steele, the Chairman of the Canadian delegation, stated :

...it is in the interests of all of us to build up throughout the world an informed public opinion that will be capable of following and participating in the universal dialogue over human rights, a dialogue that this important Conference is bound to stimulate and intensify.

Canada also played an active role in the field of human rights at the twenty-third session of the General Assembly of the United Nations. In the general debate, the Honourable Mitchell Sharp, Secretary of State for External Affairs, emphasized that "all member states are under an obligation to look to their own records of achievement in protecting human rights".

In December 1968, a Human Rights Conference was held in Ottawa, attended by numerous eminent Canadians. One of the results was that it was resolved at this meeting that a Canadian Council for Human Rights should be established on a permanent basis to help deal with problems in this field as they might arise. ⁽¹⁾

Prime Minister Trudeau summed up Canada's hopes for the future in a letter to the Secretary-General of the United Nations on the close of the International Year for Human Rights :

Interest in human rights is as old as civilization itself, and for centuries men have sought to protect these rights. Considerable progress has been made, especially within the last few years, but the struggle persists. In the tasks still before us, the Government and people of Canada join with all those who, through such organizations as the United Nations, are working for freedom and justice for all mankind.

APPENDIX I

RESOLUTIONS BY DELEGATES NATIONAL CONFERENCE ON HUMAN RIGHTS OTTAWA, DECEMBER 1968

The following resolutions were accepted unanimously by the National Conference :

This Conference

1. Resolves to establish and hereby does establish a Canadian Council for Human Rights.
2. Designates the present Executive Committee of the Canadian Commission International Year for Human Rights, with the addition of appropriate provincial representation, as the Provisional Executive of the Canadian Council for Human Rights.
3. Instructs this Provisional Executive to establish the Constitution, by-laws and programme of action of the Canadian Council for Human Rights, taking into account discussions at the present Conference as well as discussions with all interested and competent individuals, government departments, agencies, and commissions, as well as with the major national and provincial non-governmental organizations concerned with the promotion of human rights in Canada.
4. Authorizes the Provisional Executive to add to its membership in its discretion.
5. Instructs the Provisional Executive to find the financial resources, to employ the necessary personnel, and to make such other arrangements as may be required in implementing this Resolution.
6. Instructs the Provisional Executive to convene a Conference in 1969 to present a proposal for the structure of a permanent council, and a proposal for a plan of action for the council.

(1) See Appendix I : "Resolutions adopted by the Conference".

France-Canada Interparliamentary Association

THE France-Canada Interparliamentary Association, created in Ottawa in the autumn of 1965 on the occasion of the visit of a delegation of French parliamentarians to Canada, held its second meeting in Paris from December 1 to 7, 1968. The first meeting had also been held in Paris, in June 1966.

The Canadian delegation was headed by Mr. Ovide Laflamme, M.P., and included the following fellow Members of Parliament: Mr. G. Lachance, Mr. G. Leblanc, Mr. J. Guay, Mr. G. Marceau, Mr. L. Comeau, Mr. R. Lasalle, Mr. E. Schreyer, and Mr. B. Bumont. Mr. M. Pelletier of the Research Branch of the Library of Parliament accompanied the delegation as secretary.

The French delegation included Messrs Lucien Neuwirth, secretary-general of the French branch of the France-Canada Interparliamentary Association; Mr. René Lebault de la Mornière; Mr. Bernard Marie; Mr. Pierre Lepage; Mr. Eugène Claudius-Petit, member of the managing committee of the Groupe d'amitié France-Canada; Mr. Marcel Massot and Mr. Paul Duraffour, vice-president of the Groupe d'amitié France-Canada.

During the meeting, the delegations of both countries undertook a comparative study of the composition, roles and powers of the respective parliamentary commissions. Discussion also centered on France-Canada exchanges at the cultural, scientific and commercial levels, including French investment in Canada. The theme of *la francophonie* was also included on the agenda. Particular attention was paid to the respective roles of Canada and France in the French-speaking world and to assistance to the developing French-speaking countries. This subject was the topic of a report given by Mr. Jean-Paul Palewski, vice-president of the French branch of the International French-speaking Parliamentarians. Finally, Canadian and French legislators discussed the question of communication by satellite.

Canadian Views

The Canadian delegates stressed their country's views on such major questions as national unity, bilingualism and biculturalism, and the "French fact" in Canada and throughout the world. They invited France to support the efforts of the Canadian Government in these areas. In the inaugural meeting of the Commission, the chairman of the Canadian delegation declared that it was Canada's desire that France be able to participate in the development and spread of French culture in Canada in the hope that this assistance might benefit all French-speaking Canadians. He added that "there is perhaps no other country in the world which is at present making more effort than Canada

within its borders for the advancement of bilingualism and French culture", explaining that "the major instrument of progress in this domain is the Canadian Government". He emphasized that "Canada, in the search for its own identity, is profoundly united". National unity "within the diversity of our two cultural groups, French and English", remained, Mr. Laflamme declared, "the major concern of all our Canadian Parliamentarians, because we are aware that a strong Quebec can only work in this direction and thus ensure the cultural fulfilment of French Canada".

At the end of the first work session, a press release stressed the importance the Interparliamentary Commission attached to the development of relations of all kinds between France and the Canadian provinces through the Canadian Government, and expressed pleasure at the establishment of special ties with Quebec. There was also unanimous agreement on the necessity for a reassessment of the "French fact" and for the furthering of French culture throughout the world. The Canadian and French delegates concluded their work by expressing the hope that all inhabitants of the Canadian provinces would be able to benefit from efforts in favour of biculturalism and bilingualism undertaken in Canada.

Before leaving France to return home, the Canadian delegates visited the National Space Studies Centre in Brétigny and spent a few days in Corsica.

The next meeting is scheduled to take place in Canada in July 1969.

Food and Agriculture Organization

VISIT OF DIRECTOR-GENERAL

DR. A. H. BOERMA, Director-General of the Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations (FAO), paid an official visit to Ottawa from December 15 to 18, 1968. He was accompanied by Mr. C. H. Weitz, Co-ordinator of the FAO Freedom-from-Hunger Campaign. The purpose of the visit, Dr. Boerma's first since he was elected Director-General in November 1967 for a four-year term, was to meet Canadian Cabinet Ministers and senior departmental officials, and to discuss the work of the FAO.

Canada has been an active participant in the FAO since its inception. The initial step towards the creation of the Organization was taken by the First Con-



In Ottawa, Dr. A. H. Boerma, Director-General of the Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations, calls on the Secretary of State for External Affairs, the Honourable Mitchell Sharp. Left to right: Mr. C. H. Weitz, Co-ordinator of the FAO Freedom-from-Hunger Campaign; Mr. Sharp; Dr. Boerma; Mr. F. Shefrin, Chairman of the Interdepartmental FAO Committee, Department of Agriculture.

ference on Food and Agriculture at Hot Springs, Virginia, in 1943. This Conference set up an Interim Commission to draft a plan for a permanent organization concerned with food and agriculture. The formal creation of the FAO took place in Quebec City on October 16, 1945, under the chairmanship of the Right Honourable L. B. Pearson. In 1945 the FAO constitution was signed by 42 governments; by 1968 its membership had grown to 117 member nations and two associate members.

Expanding Area of Activity

The original activities of the FAO were largely those of an advisory body gathering agricultural statistics, concerned not only with agriculture as such but also with fisheries, marine products, forestry and primary forestry products. With the growth in membership and greater awareness of the needs of the developing countries, the FAO has become increasingly involved in programmes aimed at increasing agricultural production to meet the nutritional needs of expanding populations in the developing regions of the world.

The Organization is at present preparing an Indicative World Plan for Agricultural Development, which is intended to provide an international frame of reference for use by member governments in the planning of the agricultural sector of their economies. The first version of the Plan, which is expected to be ready in 1969, will include projections of the supply of agricultural produce and the demands of the world population up to 1985, together with proposals for achieving faster growth in agriculture and related industries. It will thus also be a vital element in the strategy for the Second Development Decade in the 1970s, which is now being prepared by the UN and the Specialized Agencies.

Strategy Proposals

One of the subjects discussed with Canadian officials by Dr. Boerma was strategy proposals for the future work of the FAO. The strategy, which has been approved by the FAO Council, the governing body of the FAO, involves five areas of concentration : spreading the uses of high-yield varieties of seed; putting more protein into poor diets; eliminating food waste; mobilizing human resources for rural development; and using agricultural production to earn and save foreign exchange.

The budget of the FAO reached some \$90 million in 1967, of which \$26 million was used for the regular budget while \$64 million was spent on developmental projects administered by the FAO on behalf of the United Nations Development Plan and various trust funds. In 1967, Canada's share of the regular budget was 4.17 per cent, or \$993,711, while in 1968 it became 4.07 per cent, or \$1,115,994. Canada is also a major contributor to the UNDP.

There are some 110 Canadians working for the FAO, either in the Secretariat in Rome or on developmental projects in the field. Of these, 108 are professionally qualified.

Canadian policy towards the activities of the FAO is directed by the Inter-departmental FAO Committee, which has been in existence since 1946. Represented on the Committee are the Departments of Agriculture, External Affairs, Finance, Fisheries, Forestry, National Health and Welfare, and Trade and Commerce, as well as the Canadian International Development Agency and the Dominion Bureau of Statistics.

Senator Martin Visits Africa

At the request of Prime Minister Pierre Elliott Trudeau, Senator Paul Martin recently represented Canada at the ceremonies commemorating the fifth anniversary of the founding of the National University of Rwanda.

The National University of Rwanda was founded in 1963 by a Canadian priest, Father Georges Henri Lévesque. From the beginning, Canada took a keen interest in the institution, and Canadian financial and technical contributions to it were, and still are, very considerable; Canada has contributed more than \$2,500,000 to the establishment of the National University. On June 30, 1967, an agreement was signed between the Canadian and Rwanda Governments by which the former promised to contribute to the new university an annual amount not exceeding \$750,000 for five years. For the 1968-1969 school year, Canada provided the University with 16 professors and eight administrators.

The National University of Rwanda is one of the finest achievements of Canada's international co-operation programme and undoubtedly its greatest success in the sphere of education in French-speaking Africa.

Senator Martin also visited Niger, Senegal, the Ivory Coast, Ghana and the Democratic Republic of the Congo, and had useful talks with the authorities of these countries.

The text follows of Senator Martin's statement to the Senate on his return from Africa :

As you know, I came back last Saturday from a trip which took me to several African countries. The Prime Minister had asked me to represent the Canadian Government at the ceremonies marking the fifth anniversary of the foundation of the National University of Rwanda. I took the opportunity to stop in five other African countries and pay a call on their leaders, with whom I discussed matters of mutual interest. That explains why, in addition to Rwanda, I made successive stops over in Niger, Senegal, the Ivory Coast, Ghana and the Democratic Republic of the Congo.

Niger

In Niger, I met the President of the Republic, Mr. Diori Hamani, the President of the National Assembly, Mr. Abbou Baba, and most members of the Government. I discussed with President Diori the Canadian representation to the conference he convened in Niamey with a view to developing bonds between French-speaking countries. I told him that the Canadian Government had agreed to take part in that conference and wished to send a delegation made up, apart from representatives of the Federal Government, of delegates from Quebec and other provinces having a significant French-speaking minority. President Diori said he was happy to see Canada reaffirming its interest in the French-speaking commonwealth.



Senator Paul Martin and His Excellency Diori Hamani, President of the Republic of Niger.

I wish to take this opportunity to commend the eminent personality of President Diori Hamani. As Chairman of the joint African and Madagascan Organization made up of 14 French-speaking African countries, he has become, along with Presidents Senghor of Senegal and Bourguiba of Tunisia, one of the main builders of the French-speaking commonwealth. He is the one who took it upon himself to call that conference which was going to be held in Niamey on December 15 but which, as a result of the difficulty of bringing together at that time all the countries concerned, had to be postponed. We hope it will take place in the early months of 1969.

However, I could notice during these talks between President Diori and the Canadian Government that there was a complete agreement as to the way the French-speaking commonwealth should develop. As I have stated many times when I was Secretary of State for External Affairs, we see in it mainly a means to promote cultural exchanges between French-speaking countries.

and to assert the presence of the French language in the world, exclusive of any political objective.

I took advantage of my conversations with Niger authorities to sum up the situation with regard to the numerous co-operative projects implemented by the Chevrier mission. I was able to advise them that work would soon start at the Mariamma Lycée at Niamey. That *lycée*, founded 12 years ago by Canadian nuns and run by them in an exemplary fashion, was the object of a special request from the Niger Government, with which we complied. I myself visited the *lycée* during my visit to Niamey and expressed *vive voce* to the Canadian nuns the admiration of the Canadian Government and the Canadian people for the dedicated work they are performing over there.

I cannot stress enough just how favourably impressed I was by that country, with which Canadians are not yet too familiar. Located at the cross roads in the heart of Africa, it has been from the earliest times the ideal spot for meetings and exchanges. Rich in minerals, but less fertile than its neighbours to the south, it is being faced with difficult development problems. I hope that within the French-speaking commonwealth an increasing number of exchanges will be possible between our two countries.

Senegal

The next lap of my trip took me to Senegal, where I met that great friend of Canada, President Léopold Sédar Senghor. President Senghor is, as everyone knows, the principal promoter of the French-speaking commonwealth. I was able to discuss the matter with him, as well as the main international problems of the day. I also took advantage of my visit to discuss with several members of the Senegalese Government questions of common interest to our countries and in particular to review the progress achieved through the implementation of the projects approved by the Chevrier mission. I noted that the ties of friendship between Senegal and Canada were solidly entrenched. And I am happy to note that, through the facilities of our Embassy at Dakar, our exchanges with this country are ever increasing.

Ivory Coast

My next stop was the Ivory Coast, where I had the honour of meeting, for the first time, its dynamic President, Félix Houphouët-Boigny. I soon realized that Mr. Houphouët-Boigny knows Canada well. He and I had most interesting exchanges of views on some international problems. I also spoke with him, and with several members of the Ivory Coast Government, of the co-operative projects we support over there.

The Ivory Coast, in full development, is one of the few countries in Africa that can hope to overcome its development problems in the foreseeable future; it certainly deserves very special attention. During my talks with President Houphouët-Boigny, I expressed the hope that the relations between our two countries may develop promptly.

I emphatically add that, in my opinion, the Canadian presence in those French-speaking countries is advisable and has become quite essential.

Ghana

After my visit in Abidjan, the capital of the Ivory Coast, I made a brief stop in Accra in order to board a plane for Rwanda. Nevertheless, I had the opportunity to meet the Minister of External Affairs, Mr. Aanin, with whom I had some profitable talks.

From Accra, I flew to Entebbe in Uganda, where a plane took me at first to Kigali, capital of Rwanda, and finally to Butaré, the seat of the National University of Rwanda.

Rwanda

I had the honour to take part, as a Canadian Government representative, in the ceremonies marking the fifth anniversary of the founding of that university. I had the pleasure of being present when President Kayibanda of Rwanda received an honorary doctorate. President Kayibanda is to be credited with having realized the importance of education for his country. He sounded out Reverend Father G. H. Lévesque of Quebec city . . . to head that university, and he has always sustained his efforts with a view to establishing the institution on a sound basis. I also had the pleasure of seeing there my old friend, Father Lévesque, and all the Canadian professors who devote their time and energy to promote the development of the university.

I saw that Canada and all the countries which contributed to its success can be proud of the National University of Rwanda. Education is, without a doubt, essential to the improvement of conditions in developing countries. I am particularly glad to have been associated personally and right from the start with this most important undertaking.

Congo

The Democratic Republic of the Congo was the last stage of this African journey. In leaving Rwanda and going through Burundi, I was able to fly over this vast country from one end to the other and to realize its great size and diversity. The Congo went through a difficult period following its accession to independence but, since then, order and stability have been re-established. This country, one of the biggest in Africa both with regard to size and population, will therefore be able to devote itself entirely to the task of developing its great natural resources and its economy.

I had the honour of meeting in Kinshasa the young and dynamic President of that Country, General Mobutu. In the name of the Canadian government, I invited him to visit Canada, and he accepted. I therefore hope to have the pleasure, along with the Government and the Members of Parliament, of welcoming him in this country in the coming year.

I had the opportunity of talking with several Congolese ministers. Our conversations with the leaders of that country dealt with many topics, such as Canadian participation in international conferences, the present problems on the international scene, and the co-operation projects which we have with the Congo.

This too brief and too short trip allowed me to see and to know only one very small part of the countries which I have visited. However, I have been extraordinarily impressed with the vitality of these young countries and with the will of their leaders to tackle intelligently and firmly the tremendous problems of development which confront them. Canada has already established worthwhile links with the Commonwealth African nations. It seeks now to develop and extend those which have already been established with the French-speaking countries of that continent. I felt that they were close to us, due to our linguistic and cultural affinities, and happy to see that Canada was undertaking with them the great task of co-operation. Now that this trip is over, I especially remember the remark made to me by President Houphouët-Boigny of the Ivory Coast to the effect that Canada, which unites two great cultures, prefigured the future of English-speaking and French-speaking Africa.

I come back from that trip with the very distinct impression that Canada can make to those uncommitted countries of the world an actual and efficient contribution and that in the process it can be of service to itself through a clearer expression of what makes its worth and its value as a nation.

Canada in the Olympic Cultural Events

IN keeping with the spirit of the original Greek Olympics, Mexico decided to organize a series of cultural events to take place during the 1968 Olympics, in addition to the regular sports programme. It received the full support of the International Olympic Committee and of Canada and other members of the world community.

The Mexican Institute of Fine Arts proceeded to arrange an impressive schedule of presentations by leading artistic groups from all parts of the world. One of the first such presentations, by the National Ballet of Canada, received a warm welcome from the Mexican public and won the acclaim of ballet critics.

The Mexican Folklore Ballet, which has achieved world-wide fame, decided, in honour of the Olympic Games, to create an international show with ballet numbers representative of the five continents and with the assistance of choreographers from abroad. Michel Cartier of Canada's Les Feux Follets was asked to contribute an Eskimo number. Besides providing the choreography, he helped make up or obtain the costumes and accessories. The result was a unique achievement in Mexican-Canadian cultural co-operation.

Folklore Festival

Later, during the Games themselves, an amateur group from the Canadian Folklore Council took part in the International Folklore Festival, which brought together dancing and singing groups from different parts of the globe and turned out to be one of the most successful of the cultural events. The performance of the Canadian group was regarded as a striking demonstration of the various cultural elements in the Canadian "mosaic".

Art displays fell into two groups — masterpieces of the past and contemporary paintings. To the former category, Canada was able to contribute original works of Eskimo and Indian art. Mention should also be made of a display of oriental art from the personal collection of Mr. Avery Brundage, President of the International Olympic Committee.

Canada's National Gallery chose paintings by Edmund Alleyn, Ronald Bloore, Alex Colville, Roy Kiyooka, Jean McEwen and Harold Town for the contemporary art show at the Mexican Museum of Modern Art. The exhibition may be said to have symbolized the growing unity of outlook amongst the peoples of the world that is so often obscured by day-to-day political problems.

Handicraft Display

One of the finest exhibits was the handicraft display, held in a Mexican colonial building opposite Alameda Park. This show consisted of works from all over the world. It is, of course, easier to obtain permission to borrow an exhibit of handicrafts than an exhibit of irreplaceable old masters. In contrast to the exhibit

of modern paintings, the handicraft display emphasized the differences of spirit existing among the various cultures.

Both national differences and basic similarities were clearly illustrated by the show of children's paintings. Many countries participated, and the quality of the paintings was high. The ten Canadian works displayed represented the various regions of Canada.

In addition, six Canadian children living in Mexico, chosen by competition, were invited by the Olympic Committee to paint works of mural size that were shown along one of Mexico City's principal avenues, with mural paintings executed by children from other lands.

Film Festival

A film festival was organized in conjunction with the Olympics on the theme "The Mission of Youth". "Flowers on a One-Way Street", the Canadian entry, which deals with the relations between the civic authorities of Toronto and the residents of the York Street area, presents a view of Canadian life unfamiliar to the Mexican public.

Norman McLaren was invited to Mexico as a guest of the Olympic Committee for a retrospective showing of his films at the Museum of Anthropology and the National University. Proof of the high regard in which he is held by Mexicans interested in films was provided by the enthusiastic reception accorded his work.

The Canadian Post Office Department contributed to an exhibition of postage stamps on Olympic and sports themes.

Two of the most important Olympic exhibits were on the exploration of space and the peaceful uses of nuclear energy. The Canadian stands for these two exhibits were designed by the Canadian Government Exhibition Commission, and a wide variety of exhibition material was sent from Canada. Both presentation and content were excellent.

Architectural Show

Pedro Ramirez Vázquez, the President of the Mexican Organizing Committee for the Nineteenth Olympic Games, is one of Mexico's most distinguished architects. He designed, among other buildings, the world-famous Museum of Anthropology. It is not surprising, therefore, that he took particular interest in an exhibit on contemporary sports and cultural centres. A number of Canadian architects sent photographs and drawings. In addition, a meeting was organized under the auspices of the International Architectural Association for young architects, in which several Canadian architects participated.

The Mexican organizers of these and other events (for example, the World Youth Camp, which a number of Canadians attended) provided an opportunity for young people interested not only in sports but in other activities as well to meet, exchange ideas and compare accomplishments.

Mexico enlisted its finest creative talents to assist in the Olympic preparations. Apart from the cultural programme that resulted, mention should be made of the superb buildings put up for the Olympics and the quality of the design elements that went into all aspects of the Olympics, from the dresses worn by the young Mexican girls who acted as messengers to the symbols devised for the various sports. It was appropriate that Canada should participate in such an enterprise, which focused attention on the things that unite mankind rather than on the issues that divide it. The organizers of future Olympic Games will be able to build on Mexico's bold experiment in mingling cultural and sporting events. It is to be hoped that, with the help of private international cultural organizations, a set of guiding principles may eventually be drawn up, as is done by the various international athletic federations, to assure the smooth operation of the cultural events that become a permanent part of the Olympic movement.

Throughout the Olympic year, the Canadian Embassy in Mexico and the embassies of other countries taking part were called on to assist in many aspects of the presentations and performances mentioned in this article, and to encourage the widest possible audience and public participation.

Merit Award to External Affairs Employee

THE Incentive Award Board of the Public Service of Canada recently granted a merit award of \$500 to Mr. John Gilbert Beranger, a communicator with the Department of External Affairs, in recognition of his courage, initiative and devotion to duty during the Tet offensive in Saigon, Vietnam, in February 1968.

On February 1, 1968, the day the heavy fighting began in Saigon, Mr. Beranger, who was serving with the Canadian delegation to the International Commission for Supervision and Control in Vietnam, drove his motorcycle several miles from his living-quarters to the offices of the Canadian delegation at Camp Vo Tanh on the northeast edge of the Cholon district at considerable personal risk and of his own volition. At the camp, he manned the Canadian communications centre for three days and nights without relief. His route ran through a part of the city in which there were road-blocks and barricades; parts of the route were under cross-fire, particularly at Cholon, where the fiercest fighting took place. The immediate vicinity of Camp Vo Tanh was the scene of a concentrated assault for the three days Mr. Beranger remained on duty.



Mr. J. K. Starnes, an Assistant Under-Secretary of State for External Affairs (left), presenting the Merit Award to Mr. Beranger.

External Affairs in Parliament

Commonwealth Conference

The following report by Prime Minister Trudeau opened the January 20 sitting of the House of Commons :

This was the sixteenth of these meetings since the Second World War. The 28 members of the Commonwealth represented at the conference made it the largest by far of any of the Commonwealth meetings held to date. Twenty-four of the 28 states were represented by heads of government — either prime ministers or presidents — and this, according to the calculation of the chairman, was one of the biggest meetings of heads of government anywhere since the 1945 San Francisco Conference.

This is perhaps the greatest strength of the Commonwealth, this opportunity on a regular basis for men of goodwill to sit down together and discuss one with another the problems which affect them and the 850 million people whom they represent. All the other advantages of the Commonwealth relation — the exchanges of people, the trading patterns, the economic assistance and co-operation schemes, the informality of diplomatic representation — these all assume their tone from the free and frank dialogue which takes place at the prime ministerial meetings.

It is difficult for me as a newcomer to these meetings to compare this latest conference with those that have preceded it in recent years. My impression is that this meeting was not only successful as Commonwealth meetings go but significantly so. Indeed, this conference may have marked some kind of watershed for the Commonwealth. For one thing, the Commonwealth is now close to its maximum size, and future meetings will not note the presence of many new members. For another, the scope of the Secretariat seems now to have been defined and its services identified. But most important — and here I rely not simply on my own observations but on the comments of several veteran heads of government — the Commonwealth meeting appears to have attained a new plateau of maturity. Those who anticipated dramatic events at this meeting were incorrect; those who forecast an emotional confrontation over racial issues have been proved wrong. Equally, of course, those who hoped for the emergence of some brilliant answers to vexing questions were disappointed.

What did emerge was a realization by all leaders present that there was great value in open discussion and in an exchange of opinions. It was obvious, for example, that an easy solution for the complex problem of Rhodesia simply did not exist. This being so, no advantage was to be gained from a prolonged and emotionally-charged argument alleging breaches of faith or lack of understanding. Instead, the observations and the admonitions of the several prime ministers and presidents were made and recorded and the meeting moved on.

to the next item on the agenda. I do not mean to leave the impression that the Rhodesian question was not adequately discussed, or that the conference did no more than touch it in passing. Quite the contrary. The case of Rhodesia's African neighbours and those who supported them was argued with great vigour and skill; nothing material was omitted in order to avoid hurting the feelings of others; there was no hypocritical attempt to pretend they did not exist. The Rhodesian debate was honest and it was tough, yet at its conclusion something of considerable significance occurred.

After looking at the problem in its exact dimensions, after closing in on its many difficulties, men holding opposite views admitted that the true nature of the difficulties was now better understood than before and they noted in some instance, after listening to the comments of others, that their rigid attitudes were capable of some modification. Of most importance, however, honourable men agreed honourably to disagree.

There is little headline material in this kind of decision; neither is there much domestic political advantage for individual leaders. But to a world burdened almost beyond endurance by incredibly complex problems of immense moment, an agreement to disagree and to search patiently for solutions and areas of agreement is of immeasurable value. Delegates can walk out of meetings in anger, but they cannot remove with them the underlying cause of their annoyance. Organizations can be broken apart by impatient members, but the act of disintegration contributes nothing to the easing of the original tensions.

The conference revealed in still another way the coming of age of the Commonwealth. For, if the African states did not insist that the meeting preoccupy itself exclusively with Rhodesia, neither did the Asian or Caribbean states view the meeting simply as an arena within which to press their own demands for economic assistance. And, in my view, as important as either of these events, none of the white countries attempted to dominate the proceedings on the pretext that their economic development, their political experience or their longer independence gave them any superior wisdom in the solution of new problems. One sensed that at this meeting the participants were equal members; no one pretended to possess all the problems, no one claimed to have all the answers. The 88 contributions to the debates on the five agenda items were remarkably evenly distributed around the conference table.

There is a well-known tradition at Commonwealth conferences, Mr. Speaker, which denies to members the right to discuss, without consent, matters affecting the domestic policies of another member, or matters of solely bilateral interest. It is this rule which prevents the meeting being employed as a forum to the particular advantage, or disadvantage, of any single country. It is this rule as well which encourages the participation in general debate of all 28 member states. There is little doubt that, in the long run, the rule is a wise one. In the short run, it does present a challenge to countries seeking to discuss a problem which, because of its very size, seems to them to be of international, rather than

of domestic, implications. At this meeting the Nigerian civil war fell into this category.

The tragedy of Nigeria was mentioned at the conference by Prime Minister Wilson in his opening remarks on the first day. It was the subject of considerable corridor talk and out-of-conference discussions. Though not on the agenda, it was regarded by most delegations — and not least the Nigerian delegation — as of extreme importance.

On Wednesday of last week, at a gathering of heads of government outside of the conference proper, which I attended, the leader of the Nigerian delegation agreed on behalf of his Government to enter into fresh talks in London with the rebel representatives, without any pre-conditions to be attached to those talks. He agreed as well that it would be in order for other Commonwealth governments to do what they could to urge the Biafrans to engage in talks on this basis. Before we left London, Canadian officials met with Biafran representatives in an attempt to persuade them to do just that. I am deeply disappointed that that attempt was unsuccessful, as were, we understand, the representations of other delegations and of the Secretary-General.

I mentioned a few moments ago, Mr. Speaker, that the role and scope of the Commonwealth Secretariat were defined with more precision than heretofore at this conference. The general view as expressed was that the Secretariat has an important role to play, but that the Commonwealth should not become over-structured. If I may repeat what I said in London at the conference :

As the Commonwealth grows in number of members, it increases in diversity. The common ingredients, which were once the adhesive of membership, are now outnumbered by the unique institutions and practices of so many of the members. Nor — wisely in my view — have any steps been taken to create some artificial adhesive or binder. There is no charter, no constitution, no headquarters building, no flag, no continuing executive framework. Apart from the Secretariat, which is a fraction of the size one might expect for an organization which encompasses a quarter of the peoples on this earth, there is nothing about the Commonwealth that one can grasp or point to as evidence of a structure.

Even the use of the word "organization" creates an impression of a framework which is misleading. The Commonwealth is an organism, not an institution — and this fact gives promise not only of continued growth and vitality, but of flexibility as well.

If this peculiar characteristic of the Commonwealth offers difficulty, as it seems to do, to historians or journalists or persons from non-Commonwealth countries, it is perhaps unfortunate. But surely this unique source of strength should not be surrendered in the name of conformity to accepted institutional practices. The Commonwealth is not a miniature United Nations organization the conference is not a decision-making body. To attempt to convert it would simply underscore differences of opinion; it would force countries to take sides and to vote against one another. There exist international organizations where this has to be done and where it is done; the Commonwealth is not and should not become a replica of them.

The Commonwealth provides an opportunity for men of goodwill to discuss with one another, both in plenary session and in the many bilateral meetings

their problems and their hopes for the future; to learn from the wisdom and experience of others. The Commonwealth conference is a forum for men who are as different as God has made them. It is a meeting-place where men are able to demonstrate the advantages of dissimilarity, the richness of diversity, the excitement of variety. Is this not what life is all about, to learn, to share, to benefit, and to come to understand?

I think it is. I think Canadians agree with me, for in our own country we exhibit a multiplicity of character, a diversity of climate, of topography, of resources, of customs, of traditions, of peoples, which is a segment of the wide world beyond. We accept almost instinctively the view that, of the many challenges offered by the twentieth century, none is greater than the aspiration of men to live in societies where tolerance and equality are realities. The Commonwealth is a means toward such a goal. To suggest, as some do, that the Commonwealth must be more than a forum for discussion or a clearing-house for economic assistance from the few rich nations to the many poor ones is to miss the vital point of the exercise.

Is Canada any less strong, and less united in understanding, because Canadians and their leaders engage in constant dialogue, because the wealthier provinces accept the principle of tax equalization? I think not.

So, too, in the broader international community of the Commonwealth. Human inequality is a political fact of great potency. The most effective means of reducing the explosive potential of discrimination is to meet other persons as political equals and to assist them toward economic equality. That is what the Commonwealth does. I believe these are useful exercises. For these reasons, Mr. Speaker, I assured the London conference that Canada firmly supported the Commonwealth principle.

In this brief resumé I have purposely not catalogued many of the matters discussed at the conference, for these are dealt with in the communiqué issued at its conclusion and may more conveniently be found therein

CONFERENCES

UNCTAD, Trade and Development Board, eighth session : Geneva, January 21 - February 7
Permanent Joint Board on Defence, 123rd meeting : San Francisco, February 3-7
Economic Commission for Africa, ninth session : Addis Ababa, February 3-14
OECD Ministerial Meeting : Paris, February 13-14
Commonwealth Parliamentary Association, Canadian Area Council : Ottawa, March 27-29
Interparliamentary Union, spring meetings of Interparliamentary Council : Vienna, April 7-13
NATO spring ministerial meeting : Washington, April 10-11
Canada-Japan Ministerial Committee Meeting : Tokyo, April 17-18
North Atlantic Assembly, standing committee meeting : Washington, April 17-18
Commonwealth Parliamentary Association, Caribbean Regional Conference : Antigua,
May 12-16
Pan-American Institute of Geography and History, Ninth general assembly : Mexico City,
May 20 - June 20
Commonwealth Conference on Speakers and Presiding Officers : Ottawa, September 8-12
Association Internationale des Parlementaires de langue française, second annual conference :
Tunisia, September or October
Commonwealth Parliamentary Association, general conference : Port of Spain, October 4-9
North Atlantic Assembly, fifteenth annual conference : Brussels, October 27-31
Interparliamentary Union, fifty-seventh interparliamentary conference : New Delhi
October 30 - November 7

APPOINTMENTS, TRANSFERS AND RESIGNATIONS IN THE DEPARTMENT OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS AND FOREIGN SERVICE

Mr. F. M. Filleul posted from the Canadian Embassy, Dakar, to l'École Nationale d'Administration, Paris, effective December 3, 1968.
Mr. M. G. Von Nostitz posted from Ottawa to the Delegation of Canada to the International Commission for Supervision and Control in Vietnam, Saigon, effective December 20, 1968.
Mr. W. J. Jenkins appointed to the Department of External Affairs as Foreign Service Officer 5, effective January 1.
Mr. E. H. Fleming appointed to the Department of External Affairs as Administrative Services Officer 2, effective January 1.
Mr. R. P. Cameron posted from the Canadian Embassy, Bonn, to Ottawa, effective January 1.
Mr. W. Savage posted from the Canadian Embassy, Tokyo, to Ottawa, effective January 1.

- Mr. A. P. Bissonnet appointed Canadian Ambassador to Indonesia, effective January 4.
- Mr. G. E. Hardy posted from the Canadian Embassy, Helsinki, to the Canadian Embassy, Tel Aviv, effective January 4.
- Mr. J. A. Roberts, Deputy Secretary General to the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, Brussels, appointed Canadian Ambassador to Switzerland, effective January 7.
- Miss E. A. Way posted from Ottawa to the Canadian Embassy, Tel Aviv, effective January 8.
- Mr. P. J. M. Asselin posted from the Canadian Embassy, Washington, to Ottawa, effective January 9.
- Mr. M. K. Warren appointed to the Department of External Affairs as Foreign Service Officer 1, effective January 15.

TREATY INFORMATION

Current Action

Bilateral

Asian Development Bank

Contribution Agreement between the Government of Canada and the Asian Development Bank covering the use of Canadian Special Fund Resources.

Signed in Manila December 23, 1968.

Entered into force December 23, 1968.

Belgium

Supplementary Extradition Agreement between Canada and Belgium.

Signed at Ottawa December 21, 1966.

Instruments of Ratification exchanged at Brussels December 12, 1968.

Entered into force January 12, 1969.

India

Exchange of Notes between Canada and India concerning the entry to Canada for permanent residence of citizens of India.

Ottawa January 26, 1951.

Entered into force January 26, 1951.

Terminated December 14, 1968.

Mexico

Exchange of Notes between the Government of Canada and the Government of Mexico concerning the formation of a Joint Canada-Mexico Committee to consider matters of common interest to the two countries.

Mexico D.F. November 22, 1968.

Entered into force November 22, 1968.

Netherlands

Agreement between Canada and the Netherlands for Air Services between the two countries.

Signed at Ottawa June 2, 1948.

Notice of termination given by the Netherlands January 8, 1968.

Terminated January 8, 1969.

Pakistan

Exchange of Notes between Canada and Pakistan regarding the entry to Canada for permanent residence of citizens of Pakistan.

Karachi October 23, 1951.

Entered into force October 23, 1951.

Terminated December 20, 1968.

Republic of South Africa

Agreement between the Government of Canada and the Government of the Republic of South Africa relating to the Canada Pension Plan.

Signed at Ottawa November 21, 1968.

Entered into force November 21, 1968.

To be effective from January 1, 1969.

United Kingdom

Exchange of Notes between the Government of Canada and the Government of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland for the establishment of minimum prices for cereals imported into the United Kingdom from Canada.

London April 15, 1964.

Entered into force April 15, 1964.

Terminated December 15, 1968.

Venezuela

Reciprocal amateur radio operating agreement between the Government of Canada and the Government of Venezuela.

Signed at Caracas October 29, 1968.

Entered into force November 13, 1968.

Multilateral

International Coffee Agreement, 1968.

Done at the United Nations March 18, 1968.

Signed by Canada March 29, 1968.

Canada's Instrument of Ratification deposited August 21, 1968.

Entered into force definitively December 30, 1968.

International Sugar Agreement of 1968.

Done at the United Nations October 24, 1968.

Signed by Canada December 19, 1968.

Canada's Instrument of Ratification deposited December 23, 1968.

Entered into force provisionally January 1, 1969.

Agreement concerning the Administrative Arrangements for the Prek Thnot (Cambodia) Power and Irrigation Development Project.

Done at the United Nations November 13, 1968.

Signed by Canada November 13, 1968.

Entered into force November 13, 1968.

EXTERNAL AFFAIRS

*External Affairs is issued monthly in English and French by the
Department of External Affairs, Ottawa.*

*It provides reference material on Canada's external relations
and reports the current work and activities of the Department.*

Any material in this publication may be reproduced.

Citation of External Affairs as the source would be appreciated.

*Subscription rates: Canada, the United States and Mexico,
\$2.00 a year; other countries, \$2.50; students in Canada,
the United States and Mexico, \$1.00 a year; in other
countries, \$1.50. Subscriptions are sent post free.*

*Remittances, payable to the Receiver General of Canada,
should be sent to the Queen's Printer, Ottawa, Canada.*

*Authorized as Second Class Mail, Post Office Department,
Ottawa.*

Published by authority of
the Honourable Mitchell Sharp,
Secretary of State for External Affairs

Vol. XXI, No. 3

Contents

March 1969

The Role of Middle Powers in a Changing World	110
Indian and Canadian Parliamentary Speakers Exchange Visits	119
Arms Control and Disarmament at the United Nations	123
New Ambassador Installed in Prague	127
International Sugar Agreement	129
Ministerial Mission to Latin America	131
The Establishment of Diplomatic Relations with Libya	134
Canadian Relations with Costa Rica	137
International Action to Avert a Protein Crisis	140
External Affairs in Parliament	
Establishing Relations with People's Republic of China	143
Infiltration of Laos by North Vietnamese	143
Conferences	145
Appointments, Transfers and Resignations in the Department of External Affairs and Foreign Service	146

The Role of Middle Powers in a Changing World

AN ADDRESS BY THE HONOURABLE MITCHELL SHARP,
SECRETARY OF STATE FOR EXTERNAL AFFAIRS,
AT CARLETON UNIVERSITY, OTTAWA, ON FEBRUARY 20, 1969.

THERE is a faintly old-fashioned ring about classifying countries as great, middle or small powers. In the nineteenth century, and more or less up to the beginning of the Second World War, nations were ranked by the size of their naval fleets and there were only five or six "great powers". They were the ones with battleships. Now the battleships have gone and so has the whole order that they symbolized. One of the really striking developments on the world scene in the past 25 years is the advent of vastly greater numbers of independent states. It is very much more difficult, if not impossible, to classify them as great, middle or small powers.

The conception of degrees of "power" in a sense remains. It is still true that nations have varying capacities to influence the course of events outside their own borders. It is also a fact that nations differ in their freedom and capacity to act within their own borders. None of us, of course, is completely independent. The actions of every nation impinge increasingly on the others and not even the greatest powers can entirely disregard the interplay of national decisions. But some of us have more ability than others to play an active rather than a passive role in the world.

Factors Influencing Policy

This capacity of a state to pursue policies of its own choosing and to influence other states rests fundamentally on three factors: (a) economic capacity (b) military strength; (c) diplomatic and political influence.

These functions are obviously interrelated and no nation can be considered a power of any consequence unless it has a measure of capacity in all three. Nevertheless, it is possible for a nation, by deliberate choice, to place greater emphasis on one sphere of activity and much less on the others. It is also possible for a country to be compelled by circumstances to rely heavily on one source of national strength.

There are cases of nations which have considerable economic capacity but have chosen not to acquire or to employ military strength. Postwar Japan is an economic power of major proportions which has decided to maintain only modest military forces and to rely on the United States for its security requirements. Britain, on the other hand, is a nation whose economic an

military strength has undergone a relative decline. But British political influence is still very significant in large parts of the world where British military force is no longer dominant. We have other states militarily very strong in relation to their economic capacity and their political influence. Israel is an interesting example. The circumstances of that country's recent history have compelled it to devote an extremely high proportion of its resources to military purposes in order to survive.

In Israel we also have an example of another dimension to the whole question of the "power" of modern states — the geographical dimension. A nation may play an important part in some region of the world because of its capacity in one or more of the three factors I mentioned a moment ago, but its effective influence may not extend much beyond the region. Israel's military capacity relative to its neighbours is obviously very high and for this, as well as for other reasons, Israel is a key country in the Middle East. On the other hand, in terms of its size and population Israel must be considered a small country, measured on the world scale.

Dimension of Time

There is one more dimension we must keep in mind if we would place the nations of the world in some order of rank. It is the dimension of time. A country may be apparently strong and vigorous in one decade but mired in political dissension or plagued by economic crises in the next. The international scene is constantly shifting and the relative strengths of nations are rising or falling. We can never take for granted that the present order will remain unchanged for any great length of time.

Looking at the world today in the light of the variables I have referred to, it appears that there are really only two great powers — the United States and the U.S.S.R. They are the only countries which are at the same time immensely strong in economic, military and political terms and have the capacity to exert their strength not just regionally but all over the world. They have, of course, the supreme ability to exchange intercontinental nuclear annihilation. No other nation is anywhere within reach of that dreadful capacity. It is probably more accurate to refer to the United States and the Soviet Union as "super-powers".

I doubt that there is much point in attempting to classify those nations which are not super-powers. The fact of the matter is that the vast majority of countries have the capacity to exert *some* influence on the international scene, either in their own geographical area or in the world in general, or in one functional field or another, and therefore they fall into an indeterminate classification. We are nearly all middle powers — apart from the two giants at the one end and, at the other, a certain number of very small states which are not capable of independent action to any significant degree.

If, then, the world is full of middle powers and their national capacities

are of great variety, it is difficult to define a role in international affairs for middle powers as such. It is true of middle powers, as it is of all nations, that their role is largely predetermined by the resources they possess and their historical and geographical circumstances. The effectiveness with which they play that role is another matter. It is dependent upon an accurate and realistic assessment of their capabilities and a sensible choice of policies.

The capacity of the super-powers to affect the destiny of other nations is so enormous that middle powers must clearly be vitally concerned about the policies of the U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R. Middle powers have a right and a duty to seek to influence the actions of the super-powers. This influence is likely to be more effective if middle powers act collectively. Indeed, it might be taken as a general rule for middle and small powers that they can be most effective in almost every field of international activity if they act together.

Collective Action Essential

The scale and form of collective action by middle powers depends on the purpose. It may be a functional purpose, as in an economic organization, or a geographical one, as in a regional organization, or it may be a universal objective pursued through the United Nations. The principle is the same. Collective action is likely to be more effective.

Sometimes a middle power may be able to play a special role in a situation where the super-powers, locked in contest for world-wide influence, dare not make a move. Such cases are rare, however, and their importance should not be exaggerated. Canada's initiative over the Suez affair in 1956 is sometimes cited as an example of this role for a middle power, but let us remind ourselves that there were very special circumstances at that time.

I have arrived by this somewhat circuitous route at the acknowledgement that Canada is probably a "middle power", however we define that term. It is plain that we have become a nation with significant economic weight. We have a population of 21 million and a gross national product of more than \$60 billion, and our economy is growing at a steady rate. We offer a market of considerable proportions for the products of other countries. In a number of products we are one of the leading producers and exporters. We have resources that are attractive to capital from outside our own country. We have a sufficiently high standard of living that we can well afford to contribute substantial resources to international activities without in any way weakening our own economy. In short, we are an economic power.

We also have an appreciable military capacity. It is not great compared to that of the super-powers, nor is the approximately 100,000 men in our armed forces a very significant number by comparison with many countries whose population is smaller than ours. But our forces are well-trained professionals, they are volunteers, not conscripts, equipped with modern weapons and capable of very effective employment in selective situations.

Canada also has a considerable capacity for political and diplomatic influence. We are a respected country in most parts of the world and in the United Nations and other international organizations. This is in part because we have no history of domination over other lands and no historic grievances to trouble our relations with other peoples. We maintain a corps of skilled professional diplomats, competitively selected from the best products of our universities. We have produced some outstanding political figures, whose personal abilities have enhanced the influence of our country abroad, notably the Right Honourable Lester B. Pearson. Our people generally have shown a sympathetic understanding of the problems of other countries.

Regional Dimension

But what about the regional dimension? The peculiar situation of Canada is that we are a nation with adequate capacity to play a very considerable role in a regional setting but, for all practical purposes, our immediate region consists only of ourselves and the United States, which is one of the super-powers. It has been shrewdly observed that we are a regional power without a region. Therefore, we must look further afield.

A realistic assessment of the national capacity of Canada in the various fields I have enumerated, combined with our situation next to the United States, leads inevitably to the conclusion that, if we are to advance our national interests and exercise real influence on the course of world affairs, we should do so in conjunction with other nations. Every Government in recent Canadian history has come to this conclusion. Whatever functional area one examines, it is impossible to envisage Canada making its weight felt with maximum effectiveness unless we get the co-operation of a number of like-minded nations.

In the economic field, Canada has for a long time pursued the so-called "multilateral approach" to world trading problems. We have recognized that, in the face of our overwhelming economic involvement with the United States, it is in our interests, and those of the international community as a whole, to encourage the development of a liberalized multilateral world trading system, rather than an autarkic or bloc trading system. So, we have been strong supporters of GATT and the IMF. When trading blocs like the European Economic Community have developed, we have tried to ensure, by acting in concert with other countries that face similar problems, that the new economic groupings follow the principles of GATT and are not inward-looking and exclusive.

In the military field, a feature of the Canadian answer to the problem of effectively ensuring our own security for the past 20 years has been to work with other middle powers in NATO. Since Europe is the place where a conflict, if not contained, could lead to a nuclear holocaust which would inevitably engulf Canada, we have supported and contributed military forces to the security arrangements in which the countries of Western Europe have joined with the United States under NATO.

NATO, of course, is not just a military organization. Its members have been increasingly preoccupied with such problems as accommodation between East and West and with disarmament. For Canada, the opportunities our NATO membership has presented for close consultation with other middle powers have been of particular value in balancing up our rather unequal North American partnership with the United States. NATO is a unique form of close association with a group of other nations whose collaboration is important to the United States.

NATO Commitments Reviewed

We are now reviewing our membership in and commitments to NATO in the light of the situation that has evolved since the alliance was formed in 1949. I have yet to hear any convincing argument that, if Canada wants to play a part in ensuring its own security, in the resolution of the security problems of Europe that directly affect our own fate, and in mitigating the confrontation between the super-powers, we could do so as effectively as within some such collective effort as NATO. We could opt out, of course. That is an alternative. We could decide not to participate with our NATO partners in the search for collective security and a settlement in Europe. But the problems of a divided Europe will not disappear if we opt out. In or out of NATO, Canada cannot isolate itself from the consequences of failure to establish a stable order in Europe.

There are problems of peace-keeping outside Europe and here, too, Canada has attempted to make sure that our contribution is most effective by combining it with the contributions of other nations. Canada has been among the foremost supporters of peacekeeping operations under the auspices of the United Nations. We have participated in every peacekeeping operation undertaken by the UN since 1948. Unfortunately, because of the stubborn opposition of some important members of the United Nations, the prospects for permanent peacekeeping arrangements or further United Nations *ad hoc* peacekeeping forces are not good. I see no reason, however, not to go on patiently trying to find a way round the road-blocks that have been thrown up in the United Nations. There are a good many other middle powers in the United Nations that share our views and that are willing to join with us in maintaining pressure for the development of the peacekeeping conception.

There are numerous other instances of Canada fitting itself into groupings of nations organized to achieve some common purpose. One of the most interesting, and perhaps the most peculiar, of such institutions is the Commonwealth. It is, as you know, a very loose association of independent nations, with a modest secretariat. All are graduates of the British Empire school of nationhood.

Canada and the Commonwealth

The Commonwealth has achieved notable success over the past 20 years in easing the transition from colonial dependence to national independence for many members of the world community. It has still a significant role to play

in bridging the gulf between the rich and the poor nations and in easing the racial tensions which unfortunately very often coincide with disparities of wealth and poverty. For Canada, the Commonwealth has continuing value as an instrument through which we may exert some influence upon the course of events in a large and important part of the world.

The supreme example of Canada joining with other nations to seek international objectives is our membership in the United Nations. In the UN and its associated international agencies we have the opportunity to play a part in every aspect of the struggle to build a stable and just world order — peaceful settlement of disputes, respect for human rights, liberalization of international trade, aid to developing countries, codification of international law. In most cases we find it advantageous to work closely in the UN with other middle powers, but not exclusively. Sometimes the cause of world order is advanced most effectively by supporting the initiative of a super-power. Sometimes a very small state puts forward a valuable and important proposal, as Malta did on the exploitation of the resources of the ocean-floor. Canada has long supported the principle of universality of membership of the UN, in the belief that every nation has something to contribute.

I have touched briefly upon some of the things that Canada has been doing in the world and the reasons for some of the policies we have pursued in the past. I should now like to pose some questions about these policies and to suggest some directions which we might take in adapting them to changes in the world scene and in our own country.

As I mentioned earlier, one of the most dramatic changes that has occurred in the world scene in the past 25 years is the proliferation of middle powers. We live in a time of the dissolution of empires. The empires of the Western European powers are largely gone and only a few small remnants remain. The ideological empires seem also to be loosening. They are certainly not nearly so monolithic as they were 20 years ago. Moscow and Peking now vie for ideological leadership of the Communist world. Yugoslavia is Communist but non-aligned and Romania and Czechoslovakia are restless under the Soviet yoke.

Political Patterns Unstable

The result of a situation in which there are vastly greater numbers of independent states, or states with a greater degree of independence, is that the pattern of political relations throughout the world is constantly shifting, unstable and unpredictable. It is immensely encouraging that so many peoples have acquired far more personal and national freedom than they ever had before, but this very freedom may lead initially to dangerous tensions or violent outbreaks. In various corners of the world, peoples who have been under the dominance of an imperial power are struggling to establish a new equilibrium. Such is the case in Vietnam, Nigeria and Czechoslovakia.

Another aspect of the world situation which has come increasingly to the

fore in the past 25 years is the crisis of underdevelopment. The problem has been there for a long time. In its present form it has existed at least since the industrialized nations of the West began their take-off into relative affluence in the nineteenth century. But the disparity has become vastly more acute in our time and both we and the inhabitants of the underdeveloped countries are far more aware of the problem through the efficiency of world-wide communications. The poverty-burdened majority of the people of the earth are increasingly conscious that we of the rich nations are still outstripping them in economic progress as every year goes by.

As I see it, two of the most important foreign policy questions facing Canada today are what we do about the issues of peace and war in parts of the world with which we formerly hardly concerned ourselves, and what we do about the enormous disparity between rich and poor all over the world. We have long been closely concerned about events in Europe, and rightly so. We are an offshoot of European civilization; that is where the bulk of our population traces its origins, where we have very large economic interests and where the most immediate threat to our security lies. We cannot turn our backs on Europe but we are compelled to add new dimensions to our thinking about other parts of the world.

Future of Involvements

Canada has been drawn, partly by the accident of membership in the Commonwealth, into assisting in the struggle for economic viability of, first, India, Pakistan and Ceylon, and, later, other Commonwealth nations in Asia, Africa and the Caribbean. We have found ourselves grappling at the United Nations with the complexities of such issues as the Korean War, the Congo rebellion, Cyprus and the Arab-Israeli conflict in the Middle East. We were called to play a part in the International Control Commissions set up so hopefully in 1954 to supervise the settlement in Vietnam after France's withdrawal. We now have to decide whether we are to continue all or some of these involvements, to broaden out our interests abroad, or to concentrate on certain international functions and certain areas of the world.

Canada's contribution to international development assistance now amounts to more than \$300 million annually and we are pledged to increase it to 1 per cent of national income. Our programme is a respectable one in size and effectiveness. But we have a lot of urgent questions to answer about our aid. Should we concentrate more of it in certain countries or in certain sectors of development? What should be the relative emphasis on grants and loans of various kinds and on trade concessions? As a middle power, are there special things Canada can do better than other countries? To what extent should we pool our efforts with those of other contributors? As development assistance becomes an increasingly important part of our international activities, questions like these become much more critical.

Function of Bilingualism

One new dimension that has been added to Canadian activities in the world in recent years is that of the active projection abroad of the bilingual and bicultural aspects of our nationhood. French-speaking Canadians now urgently seek to play a role in national and international affairs more in keeping with their weight in the Canadian population. The signing of the France-Canada Cultural Agreement in 1965 marked a major step in a conscious effort to represent the "French fact" in Canada more adequately in our external relations. As I have mentioned, for historical reasons we found ourselves fairly closely associated with the newly-independent members of the Commonwealth in Africa and Asia. We were slower to develop comparable ties with the newly-independent *francophone* countries, but we are now rapidly expanding these relationships. A proper reflection in foreign policy of our bicultural character is vitally important in strengthening the unity of our Canadian nation. It is also an opportunity for Canada to play a greater role in the world.

An area in which our foreign policy has been unbalanced in the past is in the American hemisphere. Beyond the United States, we have been somewhat tardy in developing an active collaboration with the countries of the Caribbean, and even slower to seek out closer relations with the nations of Latin America. We should frankly admit that there has been a neglect of that part of the world in the thinking of most Canadians and seek to rectify that omission.

Pacific Outlook

So, too, in our relations with the nations that border the Pacific Ocean. The imbalance in that respect, however, is not exactly a case of neglect. On the contrary, the western part of Canada, and especially British Columbia, has long had active trading and other relations with Eastern Asia and the South Pacific. In recent years there has been a particularly great increase in our commercial exchanges with Japan. But this has been largely the reflection of a regional interest on the part of those areas of Canada which naturally look outward to the Pacific rather than to the Atlantic. What is now required is that we pay continuous attention to the Pacific as well as to the Atlantic as an area of national interest to all Canadians.

One important step that Canada could take in the Pacific is to exchange diplomatic representatives with the authorities in Peking. We and the rest of the world need to open all possible channels of communication with the government which is in effective control of China. That is why we have recently made the initial contact with representatives of the People's Republic of China to explore the matter of recognition and exchange of embassies.

Going beyond all of Canada's regional or functional interests is our concern to see the United Nations become a more effective instrument for international co-operation and for the achievement of the Charter goals of peace and security, economic and social justice and individual human rights. The UN is an imperfect

organization because it reflects an imperfect world. But it is man's most ambitious effort to reconcile differences in the human condition and harmonize the actions of nations. We must look again at our national goals in the United Nations context and identify the changing circumstances of international life as they affect the functioning of the UN. Then we must decide what changes in Canadian policies or techniques may be required as we make common cause with other countries in the United Nations and its Specialized Agencies.

The task for Canadians, as we review our foreign policies, is first to determine our own capacities, our own strengths and our own weaknesses. As a middle power, what economic, military and political resources do we have at our disposal and how can we best employ them in the interests of our own people and of the world community? We must also examine realistically the world around us and the changes that are taking place in it. In the light of those changes, should we concentrate more on one function and less on others, or more on one region and less on another?

I expect that the answers to these questions will result in some shift of emphasis in our international activities and some alteration in the methods by which we carry out those activities.

Because foreign policy is never static, we have already begun to bring about some changes. But I doubt very much that we shall abandon completely any functional or regional activity, and I see no need to do so. We don't need to pull out of Europe in order to develop better relations with Latin America or the Pacific. Participation in collective security arrangements is not incompatible with assistance to developing countries or an active part in disarmament negotiations. We may be only a middle power, but we are a nation with the capacity to undertake a good many varied roles in the world if it is in our national interest to do so. The aim of Canadian foreign policy must be to strike the right balance of effort among those roles that are appropriate to our circumstances as a middle power and to the imperatives of the international situation.

Indian and Canadian Parliamentary Speakers Exchange Visits ⁽¹⁾

THE last few months have seen two notable "firsts" in Canada's interparliamentary relations programme. In October 1968, Dr. N. Sanjiva Reddy, Speaker of the Lok Sabha or Lower House of the Indian Parliament, made his first official visit to Canada at the invitation of the Canadian Parliament. This was followed in January 1969 by the first official Canadian Parliamentary visit to India.

Visit of Dr. Reddy

The programme of Mr. Speaker Reddy's visit was naturally centred on Parliament. During his six days in Canada from October 19 to 25, Dr. Reddy had the opportunity of seeing the Canadian Parliament in action, attending sittings of both the House of Commons and the Senate. He held discussions with many leading Canadian Parliamentarians, and with Canadian representatives of the Commonwealth Parliamentary Association and Inter-Parliamentary Union. Dr. Reddy also visited such other Canadian centres as Montreal, Niagara Falls, Toronto and Cornwall.

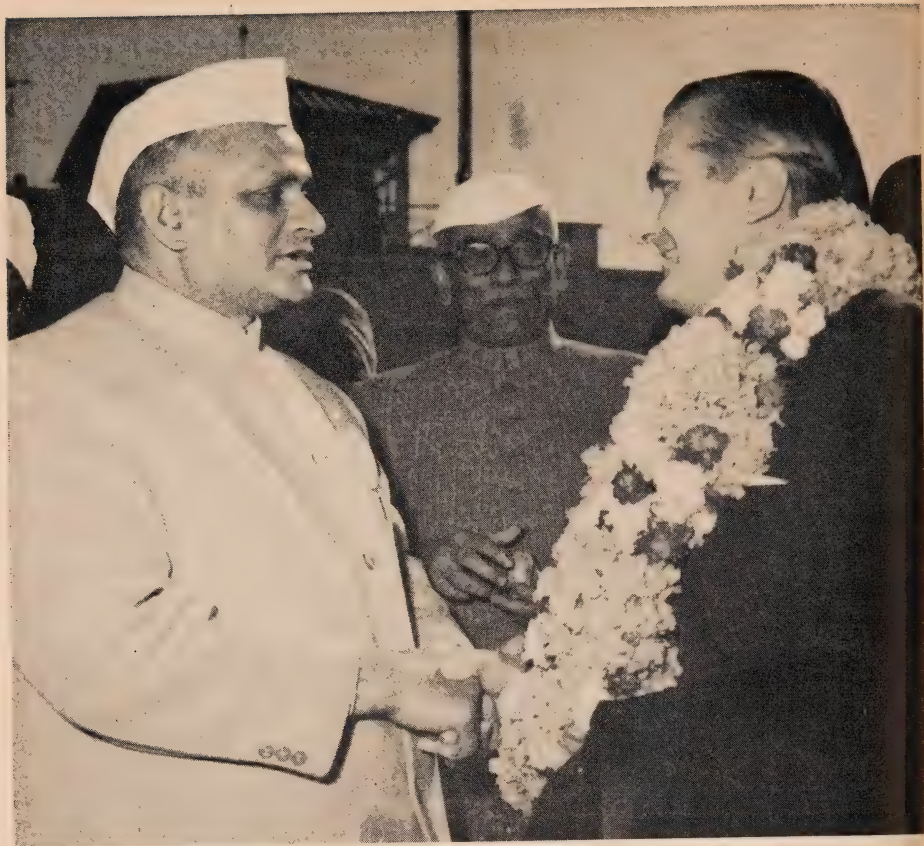
During his stay in Ottawa, the Indian Speaker was received at Rideau Hall by the Governor General and Mrs. Michener, who gave a luncheon in his honour. Himself a former Speaker of the Canadian House of Commons, Mr. Michener had also served as Canadian High Commissioner to India.

Dr. N. Sanjiva Reddy, who has been Speaker of the Lok Sabha since 1967, has served in all levels of government and was for three years Chief Minister of his home state of Andhra Pradesh. From 1959 to 1962, he served as President of the National Congress Party of India and he has held portfolios in the Union Government as Minister of Steel and Mines, Transport, Aviation, Shipping and Tourism.

Canadian Parliamentary Visit

Before leaving Canada, Dr. Reddy extended an invitation from the Indian Parliament for a Canadian Parliamentary delegation to make an official visit to India in 1969. This invitation was accepted with pleasure, and on January 5 a delegation of six Canadian Parliamentarians, led by the Speaker of the House of Commons, the Honourable Lucien Lamoureux, arrived at New Delhi's Palam Airport, where they were welcomed by Dr. Reddy, their official host in India, and a number of Ministers and leading representatives of both Houses of Parliament. Canada's High Commissioner in New Delhi, Mr.

(1) By Mr. Ian Imrie, Head of the Inter-Parliamentary Relations Branch, House of Commons, Ottawa.



Dr. Ram Subhag Singh, Union Minister for Communications and Parliamentary Affairs of India (left), greets the Speaker of the Canadian House of Commons, Mr. Lucien Lamoureux, on his arrival in New Delhi with the Canadian Parliamentary delegation that visited the Indian capital in January 1969. Looking on is Dr. N. Sanjiva Reddy, Speaker of the Lok Sabha, the Lower House of the Indian Parliament.

James George, was also present, as well as members of the Indo-Canadian Friendship Association.

Besides Mr. Lamoureux, the Canadian delegation included Deputy Commons Speaker Hugh Faulkner and leading representatives of all the parties in the Commons: Chief Government Whip Bernard Pilon, Chief Opposition Whip T. M. Bell of the Progressive Conservatives, New Democrat House Leader and Whip Stanley Knowles and Ralliement des Cr ditistes Leader R al Caouette. The Clerk of the House of Commons, Mr. Alistair Fraser, accompanied the delegation, as well as Mr. Ian Imrie, Head of Inter-Parliamentary Relations.

Following their arrival, the delegates were given a spectacular introduction to India's rich historical and cultural background in the form of a "Son et Lumi re" performance at Delhi's famous Red Fort and attended an informal dinner given by Mr. Speaker Reddy. Next day, laying a wreath at the Rajghat

where Mahatma Gandhi had been cremated, the delegation paid homage to the great Indian leader on the eve of the centennial of his birth. They also visited the Indian Agricultural Research Institute, where they were impressed by new high-yield strains of rice and wheat that could dramatically increase India's agricultural production. Meeting later with Food and Agriculture Minister Jagjiwan Ram, the Canadian delegates had great praise for the quality of the agricultural research programme and for the success achieved to date in extending scientific techniques of cultivation throughout the country.

Visit to Parliament House

At the circular Parliament House later that morning, the delegates had an opportunity to meet many of the leading members of both the Upper and Lower Houses. Since the Indian Parliament was not then in session, most of these legislators had come to New Delhi for the express purpose of meeting their Canadian colleagues. A vote in the Lok Sabha was arranged especially for the delegates, who were most interested to see the effective electronic voting system in operation. Discussions on parliamentary matters were held with the Minister of Parliamentary Affairs, Dr. Ram Subhag Singh, and other senior Indian Parliamentarians.

In the afternoon, the delegation was received by the Acting Prime Minister, Shri Moraji Desai, who spoke appreciatively of Canada's assistance to India in many fields and acknowledged the very special and distinctive character of the Indo-Canadian relation. Later, the delegates were received by the President of India, Dr. Zakir Husain, who recalled with great pleasure his state visit to Canada in 1967 during the Canadian centennial celebrations.

At an official dinner given for the delegates that evening by the Indian Parliament, Mr. Lamoureux paid tribute to India's important cultural and intellectual contribution to the world and its leadership in the quest for world peace and human brotherhood. For Canada particularly, India has also given great enrichment to the social mosaic through the immigration of Indians from all walks of life.

Sightseeing

On the second day, the delegates left for Agra, where they were shown the Taj Mahal and other historical and architectural treasures. A visit was also made to the Bichpuri Community Development Block near Agra, where delegates witnessed further important aspects of India's advances in agricultural research and development, particularly in the teaching of scientific techniques to student agronomists.

Next day, the delegation visited the Nehru Memorial Museum and paid their respects to the world statesman who was India's first Prime Minister. At a lunch given the same day by the Indian Council of World Affairs, Mr. Lamoureux spoke on Indo-Canadian relations. "To India," he said "must go

the credit for demonstrating that democracy can flower and flourish, even in the presence of conditions which have frequently extinguished the flame of freedom elsewhere. Only in a land of unconquerable spirit and dedication to fundamental human values could such an achievement have been registered."

For the last two days of the visit, the delegation's co-hosts were the Chairman of the Legislative Council, the Honourable V. S. Page, and the Speaker of the Legislative Assembly, the Honourable T. S. Bharde, of the Maharashtra State Legislature. Visiting the Aurangabad area, the delegates were shown the famous caves of Ajanta and Ellora, with their wealth of ancient sculptures and frescoes.

The last day of the visit was spent in the great city of Bombay. There they held discussions with members of the State Legislature and met leading representatives from industry, commerce, education and the artistic community.

The delegation also visited the Bhabha Atomic Research Centre at Trombay. This great complex of reactors and laboratories, which gives India a place amongst the more advanced nations in the world in nuclear research, was a product of Indo-Canadian partnership. The Canadian delegates were impressed by this example of the fruits of co-operation between the two countries.

On January 10, a farewell reception was given the delegation by the Indo-Canadian Friendship Society. Before commencing the long return journey to Canada for the re-opening of the Canadian Parliamentary session, Speaker Lamoureux warmly thanked the delegation's hosts in the Indian Parliament and the Maharashtra Legislature for the great hospitality shown them throughout the visit. Their five-day programme, short as it undoubtedly was, gave them an excellent view of a cross-section of Indian political, economic and cultural life. It also provided a unique insight into both the problems and the achievements of this great country, and demonstrated the strength of the bonds of kinship and co-operation between India and Canada.

Arms Control and Disarmament at the United Nations

THE provisional agenda of the twenty-third session of the United Nations General Assembly contained four arms-control and disarmament measures — general and complete disarmament, suspension of nuclear testing, elimination of foreign military bases and conversion to peaceful needs of the resources released by disarmament. All four are recurring items, to which relatively little attention was given this year; most interest centred on the report of the Conference of Non-Nuclear Weapon States discussed below.

General and complete disarmament (GCD) was discussed in connection with the regular annual report of the Eighteen-Nation Disarmament Committee (ENDC). The Committee had relatively little to report. Its summer session had been shortened because of the final negotiations toward the Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT) in the late spring and, after the conclusion of the Treaty, no new subject had emerged with promising prospects for ENDC discussion. Accordingly, a resolution was passed in the General Assembly requesting the ENDC to “pursue renewed efforts toward achieving substantial progress in reaching agreement” on general and complete disarmament and to continue its efforts to negotiate collateral measures of disarmament. The resolution referred to the ENDC the records of the First Committee of the Assembly, and requested the ENDC to resume its work as soon as possible. Under the items on general and complete disarmament two other proposals were also considered. Denmark submitted a resolution calling on the Secretary-General to conduct a study of the views of member countries concerning the possibility of publicizing conventional arms transfers between states. This resolution was eventually withdrawn without a vote. The other proposal concerned chemical and biological warfare. The Committee adopted a resolution requesting the Secretary-General to prepare a study, with the assistance of qualified consultant experts, on the effects of the use of chemical and biological weapons. Recalling the value of an earlier study on nuclear weapons, the Assembly Committee accepted the recommendation of the ENDC that a similar study be made of chemical and biological warfare. Canada co-sponsored the resolution authorizing the study and, on the invitation of the Secretary-General, designated an expert to assist in its preparation.

Comprehensive Test Ban

Suspension of nuclear testing, usually referred to as the question of a comprehensive test ban, was the subject of a resolution presented by Sweden which, *inter alia*, urged all states to adhere to the Moscow treaty banning nuclear testing in the atmosphere, in outer space and under water; it also called for a halt to

all nuclear tests and requested the ENDC to take up, as a matter of urgency, the elaboration of a comprehensive test ban covering all environments, including underground, where tests have been continuing. This resolution, which received Canadian support, was adopted by the General Assembly.

The peaceful uses of the sea-bed, a subject first introduced at the twenty-second session of the General Assembly, received extensive attention. After lengthy discussions, the Assembly adopted a resolution establishing a committee to explore the peaceful uses of the sea-bed and the ocean-floor beyond the limits of national jurisdiction. The resolution instructed the committee to study the elaboration of legal principles that would promote international co-operation in the exploration and use of this area and to consider the economic and other requirements that should be satisfied in order to meet the interests of humanity. The committee was further instructed to study the reservation of the sea-bed and the deep ocean-floor exclusively for peaceful purposes, taking into account the studies and international negotiations in the field of disarmament. The sea-bed item promises to be the subject of extensive international discussion and the ENDC, as the principle international forum for arms-control negotiations, will accord priority attention to this question. The elimination of foreign military bases received almost no attention at the General Assembly and the item on the conversion to peaceful uses of the resources released by disarmament similarly aroused little interest. Attention was concentrated on the results of the Conference of Non-Nuclear Weapon States held in September 1968; despite its approval of a number of resolutions, the Conference failed to achieve the objective proposed by its chief supporters.

Conference of Non-Nuclear Weapon States

The Conference of Non-Nuclear Weapon States (CNNWS), which was convened on the basis of a decision of the twenty-second session of the UN General Assembly, considered three major questions arising out of the Non-Proliferation Treaty, which opened for signature on July 1, 1968. These were :

- (1) How can the security of the non-nuclear states best be assured ?
- (2) How can non-nuclear powers co-operate among themselves in preventing the proliferation of nuclear weapons ?
- (3) How can nuclear devices be used exclusively for peaceful purposes ?

The Conference adopted 14 resolutions, the majority of which contained general recommendations on the topics under discussion. The final resolution invited the United Nations General Assembly "to consider the best ways and means for the implementation of the decisions taken by the Conference". On the basis of this resolution, the final report of the Conference was placed on the agenda of the twenty-third session of the General Assembly.

During discussions in the First Committee of the Assembly, it became obvious that it would not be possible to draw up one satisfactory resolution covering all of the decisions of the Conference of Non-Nuclear Weapon States.

The Canadian delegation played an active role in negotiations leading to the presentation of four draft resolutions designed to implement the decisions of the Conference. Canada actively supported three of these resolutions.

Question of Weapon Delivery

From the Canadian point of view, the most important resolution stemming from the CNNWS was that which had the Assembly "urge the Governments of the U.S.S.R. and the U.S.A. to enter at an early date into bilateral discussions on the limitation of offensive strategic nuclear weapon delivery systems and systems of defence against ballistic missiles". The Canadian delegation several times during disarmament debates stressed the importance and the urgency of these bilateral talks and co-sponsored this resolution, which was adopted in Committee by a vote of 97 in favour to none against, with five abstentions.

Another resolution endorsing decisions taken at the Conference of Non-Nuclear Weapon States requested the Secretary-General of the United Nations to transmit the resolutions of the Conference to governments and agencies and asked the Secretary-General to submit a comprehensive report on "the question of implementation, taking into account the reports of the Eighteen-Nation Committee on Disarmament (ENDC) and the International Atomic Energy Agency, of the results of the Conference of Non-Nuclear Weapon States", including :

- (a) the question of convening, early in 1947, a meeting of the United Nations Disarmament Commission to consider disarmament and the related question of security of nations;
- (b) the question of further international co-operation for peaceful uses of nuclear energy, with particular regard to the special needs and interests of developing countries.

The Secretary-General was also asked to appoint a group of experts to prepare a report to be considered at the 1969 Assembly on "all possible contributions of nuclear technology to the economic and scientific advancement of the developing countries". This resolution was adopted in committee by a vote of 87 in favour (including Canada) to eight against, with six abstentions.

The other two resolutions based on CNNWS decisions reiterated a recommendation regarding the establishment of nuclear-free zones and asked the Secretary-General to prepare "a report on the establishment, within the framework of the International Atomic Energy Agency, of an international service for nuclear explosions for peaceful purposes, under appropriate international control". Canada supported the first of these resolutions and abstained on the second, which did not appear to take into account the existence of the Nuclear Non-proliferation Treaty and which to some extent duplicated a study already undertaken by the IAEA.

In general, the disarmament debate confirmed that most nations look to the opening of talks between the United States and the Soviet Union on the limitation and reduction of strategic arms as the next essential step towards

further arms-control measures. Some non-nuclear-weapon states regard their own accession to the Non-Proliferation Treaty as conditional not only on the Treaty's ratification by the United States and the U.S.S.R. but also, in some measure, as dependent on the two powers undertaking further serious measures of disarmament as they are pledged to do under the Treaty. Canada was the first "near-nuclear" state to ratify this Treaty. Nevertheless, strategic arms negotiations were considered to be an essential prelude to progress on other aspects of disarmament, and a vital factor in reinforcing the confidence of non-nuclear weapon states.

New Ambassador Installed in Prague

On December 17, 1968, Canada's newly-appointed Ambassador to Czechoslovakia, Mr. T.B.B. Wainman-Wood, presented his credentials to President Ludvik Svoboda at Prague Castle. The following statement was made by Mr. Wainman-Wood on that occasion :

I am conscious of being one of the first ambassadors to present letters of credence following the fiftieth anniversary of Czechoslovakia's emergence as a modern state. Canadians have applauded Czechoslovakia's achievements during those 50 years, and the patient courage and deep inner strength which Czechoslovakia has displayed during times of great trial has won Canadian admiration and respect.

The fabric of my own country's national life has been enriched by the contribution which Czech and Slovak immigrants have made to the creation and development of Canada since it was formed through Confederation in 1867. It was historically appropriate, therefore, that our centennial year should have been enriched by the opportunity to know Czechoslovakia better through your magnificent participation in Expo 67. At the same time, there was a



Mr. Wainman-Wood (left), shakes hands with President Svoboda of Czechoslovakia on the occasion of the presentation of his credentials as Canadian Ambassador to Czechoslovakia.

dynamic development of relations between our countries, relations at many levels — official, technical, scientific, academic, commercial, cultural (and even hockey, which is not always considered as a cultural exchange).

Despite the geographical, social and ideological differences that separate our two countries, I believe that this development was of benefit to both, and to the cause of world peace.

In the conviction that growth of understanding and co-operation of this nature can be of even greater importance in the present troubled climate of international affairs, and can strengthen our countries in the roles each may be able to play in overcoming the obstacles which divide the world, it will be my endeavour to continue to encourage further the development of relations between Czechoslovakia and Canada. I hope that in this task I may have your co-operation and that of your Government.

International Sugar Agreement

THE Canadian Government played an active role in events leading to the convening of an International Sugar Conference in 1968. As a major consumer of sugar, Canada has sought, since the expiry of the economic provisions of the International Sugar Agreement on January 1, 1962, to obtain a new agreement which would permit the orderly trading of sugar on the world market to benefit both the Canadian consumer and major sugar exporters, particularly those developing countries which are heavily dependent on sugar as a major source of export revenue.

The International Sugar Conference, convened under the auspices of the United Nations Conference for Trade and Development (UNCTAD), adopted on October 23, 1968, the text of a new International Sugar Agreement. This instrument, which was negotiated in Geneva during two sessions (April 17 to June 1 and September 23 to October 24) came into force on January 1, 1969, and is to remain in force for a period of five years, with a review of its economic provisions after three. Participating in the Conference, which was chaired by the Jamaican Minister of Trade and Industry, the Honourable Robert C. Lightbourne, were delegates from 73 countries, representing exporters and importers, observers from 11 countries, and representatives from five United Nations Specialized Agencies. Representing Canada during the various phases of the Conference were officials from the Departments of Agriculture, Consumer and Corporate Affairs, External Affairs, Finance, and Industry, Trade and Commerce. Although the United States did not participate in the second session of the Conference and member countries of the European Economic Community attended throughout but found themselves unable to negotiate an acceptable export quota, provision was made that non-signatory members of the Conference and members of the United Nations, including the United States and European Economic Community countries, might accede to the Agreement at a later date.

The purpose of the Agreement is to achieve a more orderly world sugar market, which would be beneficial to both exporting and importing countries. This includes measures to raise the level of the international sugar trade, particularly in order to increase the export earnings of developing countries; to increase sugar consumption; to facilitate the co-ordination of world marketing policies and the organization of the market; and to maintain stable and reasonable prices within a target range of 3.25 to 5.25 cents (U.S.) a pound *l.b.* stowed Caribbean posts.

The Agreement is based on a mechanism whereby annual export quotas are fixed as a proportion of basic export tonnages in keeping with market developments. This means that specific obligations are placed on both importers and

exporters. Exporting countries have the main responsibility for bringing supply and demand into balance by adjusting the quantities of sugar coming on the world market through the operation of an export quota system. The assignment of initial quotas, as well as the operation of the mechanism, are the responsibility of the International Sugar Council, on which all other importing and exporting member countries will be represented. On the other hand, the actual enforcement of the quotas in effect is left to individual exporting countries. The major basic export tonnages are as follows (in thousands of tons): Cuba 2,150; Australia, 1,100; China (Taiwan), 630; South Africa, 625; Brazil, 500; Poland, 370; Czechoslovakia, 270; India, 250; West Indies, 200; Mauritius, 175; Colombia, 164; Fiji, 155; Mexico, 96; Dominican Republic, 75 (140 in 1970 and 186 in 1971); Peru, 50 (75 in 1970 and 100 in 1971).

Importing countries will help the exporters to achieve the price objectives by prohibiting purchases from non-members when prices fall below the lower target price, and by restricting imports from non-members to the volume of a base period when prices are between the lower and upper targets. Importers, however, do not undertake to pay exporters the lower target price.

In return, exporting countries have undertaken meaningful supply obligations, not present in previous International Sugar Agreements, which will substantially reduce the risk of consumers paying excessive prices for sugar. The first exporter obligation is to maintain minimum stocks and make them available for prompt sale and shipment when the world price approaches the upper target price. The second is to supply traditional markets with their normal requirements of sugar at a price not exceeding 6.50 cents (U.S.) a pound. Exporters have also undertaken not to sell sugar on the free market to non-members on terms more favourable than those which they would be prepared to offer importing members.

Undertakings have been given by a number of developed countries to ensure continuing access for sugar to their domestic markets. A special fund of 150,000 tons for developing countries has also been established. In the allocation of the fund, particular attention has been given to the needs of small developing countries whose export earnings are heavily dependent on sugar exports, countries whose economies are becoming excessively dependent on sugar and certain countries burdened with excess stocks. Provisions have also been made that the first 20 per cent of shortfalls, when quotas in effect are at 100 per cent or higher of basic export tonnages, shall be allotted exclusively to developing exporting members.

Speaking in the House of Commons on October 25, 1968, the Minister of Industry, Trade and Commerce, the Honourable Jean-Luc Pepin, said that the new Agreement "will protect the interest of Canadian consumers in the event of excessive prices, such as occurred in 1963, and at the same time will benefit many developing countries, including those of the Commonwealth Caribbean, by improving the returns from one of their chief exports".

Ministerial Mission to Latin America

PRELIMINARY REPORT

ON January 24, 1969, the preliminary report of the Canadian Government's ministerial mission to Latin America was tabled in the House of Commons.

The report analyses the work of the mission's 30-day visit to nine Latin American countries toward the end of 1968, and provides both factual information and preliminary assessments on which the current review of Canadian policy toward Latin America will be based.

Political Aspects

It makes it clear that there is scope for more frequent and more intensive consultation on international and hemispheric political questions between Canada and the Latin American countries. It indicates that this could come about either through Canadian membership in the Organization of American States (OAS) or through closer bilateral relations with the Latin American countries. It also makes it clear that there is scope for closer Canadian relations with regional organizations in Latin America and with certain organizations of the inter-American system. An important step toward closer bilateral relations has already been taken in the founding of the Joint Mexico-Canada Committee, in which the mission took part.

Aid Aspects

As a result of the mission's discussions on aid, the report indicates, two main points emerged: the definition of additional scope for Canadian development assistance and the discovery of real possibilities for co-operation with volunteer agencies already working in Latin America.

To realize the full potential of these opportunities of enhancing Canadian relations with Latin America, studies are under way to determine the future level of Canadian aid to the area. Questions involved include:

- Canada's future relations with the Inter-American Development Bank;
- the possibility of setting up a bilateral aid programme and the balance between any bilateral aid and any multilateral aid;
- the possibility of setting up directly administered programmes;
- the degree of co-operation with regional groupings;
- the possibility of expanding the programme of aid to private institutions.

Trade and Economic Aspects

The report outlines the unique and distinctive opportunities Latin America offers Canadian industry to participate in major projects and industrial

development, on a commercial basis and on terms of equality with suppliers throughout the world.

This is the consensus, the report states, of many intensive discussions at ministerial and official levels in each of the nine countries visited. Meetings covered a wide range of subjects: world trade; world wheat pricing and marketing; international trade within the region through the Latin American Free Trade Area (LAFTA), the proposed Andean Pact, and the Central American Common Market; bilateral trade with emphasis on the necessity for two-way characteristics; tourism; standardising accounting of import-export figures.

The report reveals the tremendous importance the Latin American countries attach to their economic development and industrialization, placing great emphasis on: improved infrastructure; development of vast untapped natural and agricultural resources; industrial development.

The following broad avenues of economic activity are listed by the report as areas mutually beneficial to Latin America and Canada, in which Canadian industry can make major contributions: telecommunications; consulting engineering services; mining, forestry and fishery equipment; hydro-electric equipment; grain-storage facilities; forest-fire-fighting equipment; pulp and paper machinery; aerial surveys; specialized aircraft; nuclear reactors; subway equipment; road and railway equipment; educational equipment.

It suggests a number of ways of bringing Canada and Latin America closer together in the economic sphere; these include the proposals that:

The Canadian business community be more fully aware of Latin America opportunities;

Canadian consortiums be organized to bid on large projects;

Latin American countries be encouraged to make more effort to take advantage of Canada's relatively "open door" import policy;

greater emphasis be placed on tourist promotion in Canada by Latin American countries;

credit policy for wheat be reviewed;

government financing facilities and techniques be re-examined to assure that Canadian suppliers and exporters remain competitive with other world suppliers.

By these and other means, it is hoped that a new and vigorous drive to strengthen and enlarge Canadian trade and economic relations with the large Latin American market may get under way to the mutual benefit of Canada and the Latin American countries.

Cultural and Scientific Aspects

The report states that opportunities for increased cultural exchange between Latin America and Canada are numerous and include exchanges of professors and students in the realms of pure, applied and social sciences, as well as of

the performing and plastic arts. It recognizes that the electronic media will have an important role to play in these developments.

The report states that the possibilities of future co-operation in science, and in particular in the peaceful uses of nuclear energy, to which many Latin American countries give high priority, were also explored.

The report discusses the desirability of further initiatives to increase the flow of reciprocal public information and to co-operate in the field of tourism.

Official Canadian Representation

In conclusion, the report considers the effectiveness of the present deployment of official Canadian representation in Latin America.

The report is being given the widest possible distribution with the object of enabling interested private groups and persons to reflect on the issues involved and, if they wish, to contribute to the development of policy.

The Establishment of Diplomatic Relations with Libya

ON October 26, 1968, Mr. A. J. Pick, the Canadian Ambassador to Tunisia, journeyed to Tripoli, one of the two capitals of Libya (the other is Benghazi) to present his letters of credence as Canada's first Ambassador to that country.

Libya was one of the first countries in Africa to achieve independence, after a long history during which its soil had resounded to the tread of many a conquering army. Its territory was occupied in turn by the Phoenicians, the Carthaginians, the Romans, the Vandals and the Byzantines. Numerous ruins still bear witness today to the splendour of Libya under the Romans. In the eighth century, it was conquered by the Arabs. The Turks held sway from 1553 until the Italian invasion of 1911, and Libya remained a colony of Italy until the Second World War.

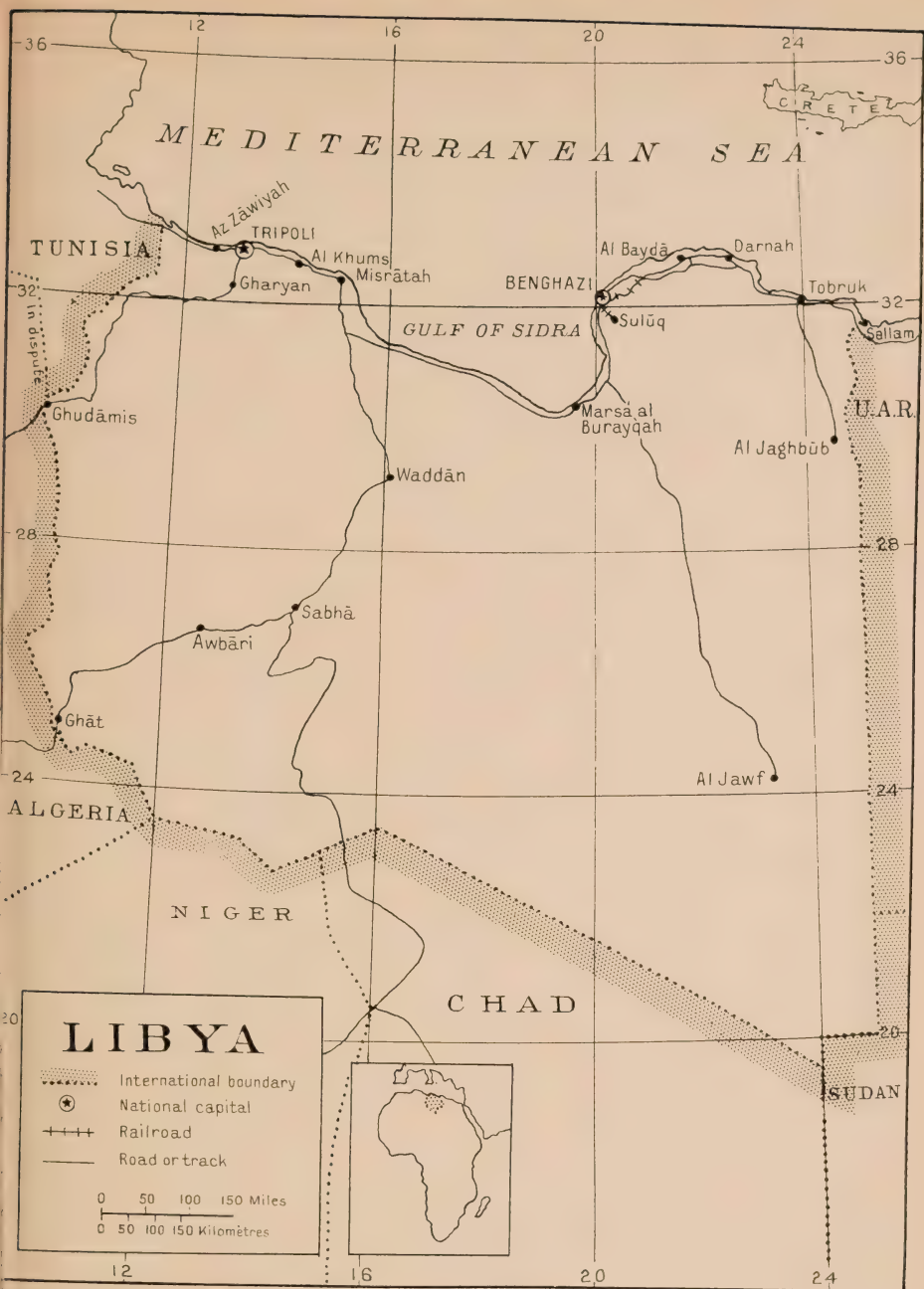
The Italians named the country "Libya" in 1934, a Greek term once used to describe the whole of North Africa except Egypt. During the Second World War, Libya was occupied by the Allies, and from the end of the war until 1951 was under United Nations mandate. In December 1951 it finally became a sovereign state.

Description

Libya is bounded on the north by the Mediterranean, on the east by Egypt, on the southeast by the Sudan, on the west by Tunisia and Algeria, and on the south by Niger and Chad. Its territory covers more than 680,000 square miles, about 95 per cent of which is desert. The country has a sparse population of 1.6 million. The sudden increase in wealth resulting from the discovery of petroleum in 1959 enabled the Government of Libya to embark on ambitious programmes in education, health and social welfare. Since that year, the economy has experienced a remarkable boom; the gross national product of Libya, only a few years ago one of the poorest countries in Africa, will pass the \$1-billion mark in 1969.

Libya is a constitutional monarchy, with a two-chamber system. The Senate comprises 42 members, all appointed by the King for an eight-year term; members of the House of Deputies are elected by universal suffrage, on the basis of one to 15,000 of the population; they serve for four years. Executive power resides in the person of the King, who appoints the Prime Minister; the Cabinet is formed of Ministers recommended to the King by the Prime Minister. The Constitution safeguards the liberty and equality of all citizens under the law.

Although diplomatic relations have only recently been established between



Canada and Libya, the two countries have maintained excellent relations since the date of Libya's becoming independent. In fact, as the Canadian Ambassador pointed out when he presented his credentials to His Majesty King Idris I, Canada gave its support in 1949 and 1950 to the United Nations resolutions concerning the establishment of Libya's independence. These good relations have found concrete expression in the United Nations, where the two delegations have worked together on many occasions.

Canadian Relations with Costa Rica

COSTA RICA is a small republic in the southern part of Central America, bordering on Nicaragua and Panama. Like its neighbours, it is largely dependent on agricultural exports. Costa Rica is one of the members of the Central American Common Market. Since it is the possessor of a remarkable domestic political structure, its political life has been characterized by vigorous electoral institutions and peaceful changes in power. In 1966, the presidential candidate of the ruling National Liberation Party was narrowly defeated by a coalition of opposition groups led by a former economist, the current President, José Joaquín Trejos Fernández.

Canada has had formal diplomatic relations with Costa Rica since 1957, although the first Canadian Ambassador was appointed to San José in 1961. The Ambassador is also accredited to four other Central American countries. Costa Rica accredited its Ambassador in Washington to Canada in 1963. Mr. A. J. Hicks completed his term as Canadian Ambassador in Costa Rica in December 1968. He has been succeeded by Mr. D. W. Munro, who presented his credentials to President Trejos on December 19.



Mr. Donald W. Munro (right), Canada's new Ambassador to Costa Rica, exchanges letters with President Trejos (left), of Costa Rica, in the presence of the Costa Rican Foreign Minister, Senor Lara.

There have recently been signs of increased interest by the Government of Canada in cultivating relations with Costa Rica. Mr. Gérard Pelletier, then Parliamentary Secretary to the Secretary of State for External Affairs, visited Costa Rica in September 1967 during his tour of Latin America. Costa Rica was visited by the Canadian ministerial mission to Latin America in November 1968. The impact of this mission may be illustrated by the following quotation from President Trejos' letter to Mr. Munro at the ceremony on December 19:

"I should like to refer particularly, and at greater length, to the visit of the Canadian ministerial mission. Messrs Jean-Luc Pepin and Gérard Pelletier, the latter visiting Costa Rica for the second time, as well as the other distinguished members of the mission, left indelible memories and the deep impression of a solid and well-directed effort toward a greater knowledge and a better understanding. They indicated a clear intention of carrying out tasks of benefit to both countries. I am firm in the hope that the results of this visit will be positive, because, since the mission's visit, the friendship between both nations and governments has increased considerably and will most certainly continue to increase with the passing of time. Although we were already united with Canada in a friendly and truly democratic tradition, we now feel as though a great new structure is just being erected which will reach considerable proportions with respect to the cultural, economic and other aspects. You may inform the members of the mission of the many aspects under which we now observe with greater interest and greater hopes this closer relation between Canada and Latin America because of the interest shown by your Government."

Mr. Munro presented the following letter of greetings to President Trejos with his credentials:

"Your Excellency,

"I deem it an honour to have been named by Her Majesty the Queen of Canada to be the Ambassador of Canada to Costa Rica. In order that I may assume these new duties, I am instructed to convey to you, Your Excellency, the letter of recall of my predecessor. At the same time, I am honoured to present to you the letter of credence in which I am named by Her Majesty to represent my country in yours. Since our two countries have been firmly set for many years now on a course in the true democratic tradition stemming from deep-seated respect for individual rights and freedom in all spheres of human activities, I am looking forward with much pleasure to my assignment in this country.

"Permit me to take this opportunity to thank Your Excellency for the welcome you extended to the recent ministerial mission which visited Costa Rica. My arrival in Costa Rica so soon after that visit, and so soon after the departure of my predecessor, is a mark of the importance which the Canadian Government is attaching to the maintenance and strengthening of good relations with this country and with all the countries of Latin America. The recent

ministerial mission was intended, among other things, to assist in improving and expanding the nature and depth of the good relations which happily have always existed between our two peoples. It will be my responsibility while here to work diligently towards the fulfillment of that goal.

"Canada has maintained a resident diplomatic mission continuously in Costa Rica since 1961. During these eight years, co-operation between our two countries has intensified, at the same time as international relations have been carried on increasingly on a multilateral basis. At the United Nations and in the Assemblies of United Nations Agencies such as UNESCO, and at the recent Conference on Human Rights in Tehran, we have frequently consulted with one another and with representatives of like-minded countries in the effort to ensure that the freedoms we both treasure and the universal peace we both seek to maintain shall not be imperilled. This type of co-operation, I am sure Your Excellency will agree, is one that you would wish to see encouraged. Such is also the wish of my Government.

"Canada's political, cultural and ethnic ties are transatlantic — with Britain and France and the many other lands from which Canada's peoples have come. Yours too are transatlantic in many respects. It is essential for both of us to maintain these East-West ties; to deny them or to cut ourselves off from them would deny the birthright to which we both owe so much. The North-South ties cannot be neglected either, because geographically we are neighbours and I foresee the North-South links becoming more important in bilateral terms as the years go on without in any way weakening the strong ties which already exist. It will be my honour to help in this important work.

"I should like to express to Your Excellency how pleased I am personally to have been named Ambassador to your favoured land. All three of my predecessors did much to prepare the way for me. For this I am grateful, not only to them but also to your people who received them with such warmth and treated them with such consideration and kindness. Already, after only ten short days, I am beginning to feel at home and, once I am able — again with the aid of such friendly people — to speak your language more fluently, I have the best of reasons to hope that I shall be able to make my contribution to the development of even closer relations between our two countries. I venture to hope also that, from time to time, you will permit me to call on you to enquire what more can be done in this regard. I should like to feel as well that, should Your Excellency ever wish to convey a special message of any sort to my Government, he would not hesitate to inform me of it.

"I trust that you will accept, Your Excellency, these assurances of my highest consideration and respect for yourself, your Government and your people."

International Action to Avert a Protein Crisis

THERE are today over 300 million children who, for lack of sufficient protein and calories, suffer retarded physical growth; for many of these children mental development, learning and normal behaviour may be impaired as well. These were among the reasons that prompted the Advisory Committee on the Application of Science and Technology to Development (ACAST) to prepare, as its first study in depth of major developmental problems, a report entitled *International Action to Avert the Impending Protein Crisis*. Members of this Committee, which was created by the Economic and Social Council of the United Nations (ECOSOC) in 1963, are eminent scientists from countries all over the world.

The protein problem was first considered by the Advisory Committee at its fourth and fifth sessions in 1965 and 1966. It was then decided to establish a Working Group on Protein. After consultations with interested UN organizations, the Committee retained an adviser on protein, Dr. Nevin S. Scrimshaw, and requested him to prepare a study reviewing the subject as a whole and identifying the major areas in which governments and international organizations might concentrate their attention. After Professor Scrimshaw's report was considered at the sixth session of ACAST in 1967, a panel of experts on protein was established to recommend targets, policy guide-lines and proposals for action by governments and by the Food and Agriculture Organization, the World Health Organization and the United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF). The final report, entitled *Increasing the Production and Use of Edible Protein*, was adopted at the Committee's seventh session and presented to the forty-third session of ECOSOC in 1967.

This document, which has aroused considerable interest and become a United Nations best-seller, begins with an explanation of the protein gap, and notes that the discrepancy between nutritional requirements and actual consumption of protein by the greater part of populations in developing countries is widening rapidly. After stating clearly that there is no single or simple solution to the protein problem, the report outlines three policy objectives related to protein from conventional sources and four related to new sources of protein.

Policy Aims

The first policy objective is the most comprehensive, involving the "promotion of increased quantity and quality of conventional plant and animal protein source suitable for direct human consumption". It is suggested that this objective can only be reached through the provision of fertilizers, pesticides, improved plant varieties, mechanized equipment, rural credit, market and price supports, agricultural extension programmes, the improvement of animal breeds and stock-raising

methods, assistance in the eradication of animal diseases, the introduction of more adequate incentives to the farmers and other essential innovations in modern agriculture. The second policy objective calls for "improvement in the efficiency and scope of both marine and fresh-water fisheries operations", and the third concerns the "prevention of unnecessary losses of protein-rich foods in field, storage, transport and home".

With regard to new sources of protein, the report calls for the promotion of the production and use of oil-seeds and oil-seed protein concentrates, fish-protein concentrates and synthetic nutrients, and the development of single-cell protein for both animal-feeding and direct use by man.

A set of 14 specific recommendations for achieving these objectives is then proposed, together with preliminary estimates of the costs involved in implementing them through the UN system. The report suggests that additional funds in the order of \$20 million (U.S.) a year will be required at the beginning of the 1970s, rising to \$40 million (U.S.) a year in the second five years.

ECOSOC Action on Report

The ACAST protein report was first considered by the forty-third session of ECOSOC in Geneva in 1967. The Council, of which Canada was a member, welcomed the report and requested the Secretary-General to draw its conclusions to the attention of the Specialized Agencies of the UN and to member countries, recommended the expansion of the activities of WHO, FAO and UNICEF, and requested the Secretary-General to report to ECOSOC in 1968 on the existing allocation of resources at the national and international levels and to make any "appropriate and feasible" recommendations.

The Secretariat subsequently prepared a three-part questionnaire dealing with present and proposed activities for improving and increasing the production and consumption of protein. The Canadian reply was drawn up by departments of the Federal Government under the chairmanship of Dr. J. C. Woodward, now Assistant Deputy Minister (Research) of the Department of Agriculture. Given the extended range of Canada's activities in the protein field, the reply reviewed the work that was being done in all parts of Canada and proposed that conventional sources of protein offered the best hope for developing and expanding the production of protein-rich foods.

On the basis of the replies received from the interested UN agencies and member countries, the Secretary-General prepared a report for ECOSOC and the UN General Assembly in 1968. The report stressed the need to achieve adequate consumption of protein by infants and young children and the urgency of an inter-disciplinary approach to the solution of the protein gap, involving all facets of food production, processing, distribution and consumption.

On the basis of drafts presented by the Indian and Canadian delegations, a compromise text was prepared and, after consideration by the Second Committee, was adopted unanimously. The resolution in its final form outlines those

aspects of the protein problem of principal concern to United Nations members, requests the full co-operation of member governments at both the national and international levels in promoting activities designed to close the protein gap, and also requests periodic reports on the progress being made on increasing the production and use of edible protein from the Secretary-General, beginning with the twenty-fifth session of the United Nations General Assembly in 1970. The resolution also asks the Secretary-General to propose from time to time, in consultation with interested organizations in the UN system, measures for intensifying action in the areas of principal concern.

Canada is continuing to play an important role in the work of the UN in attempting to solve these urgent and basic problems — the production and consumption of protein. The ACAST report and the subsequent report of the Secretary-General of the UN have made a significant contribution to focusing attention, at the national and international levels, on the world protein crisis. It is to be hoped that the UN family will be able to play a leading role in maintaining this impetus and implementing action directed to closing the protein gap. Canada, through its bilateral and multilateral aid, as well as its research and development activities, will continue to make an important contribution to these programmes.

External Affairs in Parliament

Establishing Relations with People's Republic of China

The following statement was made to the House of Commons on February 10 by the Secretary of State for External Affairs, the Honourable Mitchell Sharp :

I should like to give a brief statement to the House about the Government's progress in establishing relations with the People's Republic of China. Our Embassy in Stockholm has been instructed to get in touch with the Embassy of the People's Republic of China in order to convey the Canadian proposal that talks concerning relations between the two countries be held at a mutually convenient time and place in the near future. I hope that before long we shall have a reply from the Chinese Government and that representatives of our two countries can then begin to discuss the question of recognition of the People's Republic of China and the exchange of embassies between Ottawa and Peking.

We also hope to be able to take this opportunity to explore with Chinese officials the whole range of Sino-Canadian relations, and to discuss the possibilities for expanding and developing our relations in a number of areas. Even without diplomatic relations, we have been able to develop our trade, exchange correspondents between Ottawa and Peking, and increase contacts between Canada and China in a number of fields in recent years.

There will be a number of questions for our officials to discuss with the Chinese. It is not only a question of working out a satisfactory basis for recognition and the exchange of embassies but of reaching agreement on a number of details relating to the operations of a Canadian embassy in Peking and a Chinese embassy in Ottawa. Since these questions are to be the subject of discussion, I do not think it would be appropriate to say any more about them now.

Infiltration of Laos by North Vietnamese

On February 19, in reply to a question as to whether the International Control Commission, on which Canada is represented, had been requested during the past six months to investigate allegations of massive infiltration by the North Vietnamese into Laotian territory and, if so, with what results, Mr. Sharp replied :

Within the last six months, the Royal Laotian Government has, on three occasions, complained to the International Control Commission about the illegal presence and activities of North Vietnamese forces in Laos as evidenced by attacks on the government post at Thateng in the southern panhandle adjoining North Vietnam (Royal Laotian Government notes dated November 29, 1968, December 14, 1968, and January 9, 1969). Despite the efforts of the Canadian

delegation to have formal investigations made of these complaints, only the first two were subjected to firsthand inquiry by Commission representatives, but only in a preliminary way during an "observation visit" on January 2-3 of this year. As regards the third complaint, our Commission partners — India and Poland — voted against a Canadian proposal for an investigation and no further action on the complaint has been taken.

Final judgments have not yet been rendered by the Commission on the factual conclusions which can be drawn from the evidence available on these incidents. The Canadian delegation has been attempting to obtain agreement on a Commission report not only of its visit to Thateng but of visits to other towns in the same area which the Commission made in February and April 1968 in response to similar complaints by the Royal Laotian Government.

Direct evidence regarding the exact extent of North Vietnamese infiltration into Laos is difficult for the Commission to establish because it is not permitted entry into the Communist-controlled areas of Laos. Nevertheless, evidence of North Vietnamese military activity in Laos — in contravention of the terms of the 1962 Geneva settlement relating to that country — has been clearly established by the Commission in areas controlled by the Royal Laotian Government and has been made public and reported to the House on earlier occasions.

CONFERENCES

- Commonwealth Parliamentary Association, Canadian Area Council: Ottawa, March 27-29
- Interparliamentary Union, spring meetings of Interparliamentary Council: Vienna, April 7-13
- NATO spring ministerial meeting: Washington, April 10-11
- North Atlantic Assembly, standing committee meeting: Washington, April 17-18
- Canada-Japan Ministerial Committee meeting: Tokyo, April 17-18
- Commonwealth Parliamentary Association, Caribbean Regional Conference: Antigua, May 12-16
- Pan-American Institute of Geography and History, ninth general assembly: Mexico City, May 20 — June 20
- Fourth International Agricultural Aviation Congress: Kingston, Ontario, August 25-29
- World Conference on Bird Hazards to Aircraft: Kingston, Ontario, September 2-5
- Commonwealth Conference of Speakers and Presiding Officers: Ottawa, September 8-12
- Association Internationale des Parlementaires de Langue française, second annual conference: Tunisia, September or October
- Commonwealth Parliamentary Association, general conference: Port-of-Spain, October 4-9
- Colombo Plan Consultative Committee: Victoria, British Columbia, October 14-21
- North Atlantic Assembly, fifteenth annual conference: Brussels, October 27-31
- Interparliamentary Union, fifty-seventh interparliamentary conference: New Delhi, October 30 — November 7

APPOINTMENTS, TRANSFERS AND RESIGNATIONS IN THE DEPARTMENT OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS AND FOREIGN SERVICE

- Mr. J. Léger, previously Canadian Ambassador to France, resigned from the Department of External Affairs on his appointment as Under-Secretary of State, effective November 1, 1968.
- Miss M.E. Gowler retired from the Public Service, effective January 1, 1969.
- Mr. P. Croft posted from Ottawa to the Office of the High Commissioner for Canada, New Delhi, effective January 6, 1969.
- Mr. M. Bujold posted from the Canadian Embassy, Tunis, to the Office of the High Commissioner for Canada, Lagos, effective January 16, 1969.
- Mr. J. J. McCardle appointed Canadian Ambassador to Ireland, effective January 16, 1969.
- Mr. J. J. Scott posted from Ottawa to the Canadian Embassy, Tunis, effective January 19, 1969.
- Mr. D.W. Munro, Canadian Ambassador to Costa Rica, appointed concurrently Canadian Ambassador to Nicaragua, effective January 20, 1969.
- Mr. J. McCord posted from Ottawa to the Canadian Embassy, Tokyo, effective January 22, 1969.
- Mr. C.J. Dagg posted from the Delegation of Canada to the International Commission for Supervision and Control in Vietnam, Saigon, to Ottawa, effective January 23, 1969.
- Mr. D.B. Hicks, High Commissioner for Canada in Ghana, accredited concurrently Canadian Ambassador to Ivory Coast, effective January 24, 1969.
- Mr. J.T. Devlin posted from Ottawa to the Office of the High Commissioner for Canada, Kuala Lumpur, effective January 24, 1969.
- Mr. H.W. Richardson posted from Ottawa to the Office of the High Commissioner for Canada, Nairobi, effective January 24, 1969.
- Miss S. M. Wise posted from the Office of the High Commissioner for Canada, Lagos, to Ottawa, effective January 24, 1969.
- Mr. J. Demers posted from Ottawa to the Delegation of Canada to the International Commission for Supervision and Control in Laos, Vientiane, effective January 27, 1969.

EXTERNAL AFFAIRS

*External Affairs is issued monthly in English and French by the
Department of External Affairs, Ottawa.*

*It provides reference material on Canada's external relations
and reports the current work and activities of the Department.*

Any material in this publication may be reproduced.

Citation of External Affairs as the source would be appreciated.

Subscription rates: Canada, the United States and Mexico,

\$2.00 a year; other countries, \$2.50; students in Canada,

the United States and Mexico, \$1.00 a year; in other

countries, \$1.50. Subscriptions are sent post free.

Remittances, payable to the Receiver General of Canada,

should be sent to the Queen's Printer, Ottawa, Canada.

*Authorized as Second Class Mail, Post Office Department,
Ottawa.*

Published by authority of
the Honourable Mitchell Sharp,
Secretary of State for External Affairs

Vol. XXI, No. 4

Contents

April 1969

<i>Visit of the Governor General to the Commonwealth Caribbean</i>	<i>150</i>
<i>NATO in Canadian Perspective</i>	<i>159</i>
<i>Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development</i>	<i>167</i>
<i>Ainji Dam Opened in Nigeria</i>	<i>170</i>
<i> Franco-Canadian Joint Commission</i>	<i>173</i>
<i>United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization</i>	<i>176</i>
<i>Canada-Tunisia Co-operation</i>	<i>182</i>
<i>The Rule of Law in International Affairs</i>	<i>183</i>
<i>Conferences</i>	<i>189</i>
<i>Appointments, Transfers and Resignations in the Department of External Affairs and Foreign Service</i>	<i>190</i>

Visit of the Governor General to the Commonwealth Caribbean

THE Governor General of Canada, the Right Honourable Roland Michener, and Mrs. Michener recently paid state visits to the four Commonwealth countries of the Caribbean. The tour took in Jamaica (February 11-15), Guyana (February 15-21), Barbados (February 21-26) and Trinidad and Tobago (February 26 - March 3). In all four countries, Canada's representative was received with typically Caribbean warmth, friendliness and hospitality.

The chief purpose of the tour was to demonstrate goodwill and to underline Canada's close relations with the Commonwealth Caribbean. These ties were first established by early pioneer traders from the Atlantic Provinces, who exchanged fish and timber for sugar and rum. Over the last century and a half, this trade has expanded to an annual total of over \$200 million, the chief



Governor General Michener, accompanied by Mrs. Michener, unveils a plaque at Walkers Wood School commemorating the co-operation of the Jamaican and Canadian Governments in the construction of the institution and its official opening by Mr. Michener and the Governor General of Jamaica, Sir Clifford Campbell.

Canadian imports being bauxite, alumina, sugar, rum and petroleum products and the chief exports being manufactured goods, flour, fish, meats and timber. Canadian investment in such areas as bauxite mining, banking, insurance and shipping plays an important role in the economies of several countries in the Caribbean and, more recently, tourists from Canada have become an increasingly significant source of revenue. Missionaries were also among the first Canadians to develop an interest in the Caribbean, particularly in Trinidad and Guyana, where Canadian missionary schools have played an important part in education. Canadians and West Indians also co-operate effectively on the international scene. Their approach to international problems is often similar, in part because they both belong to the Commonwealth with its common legal and Parliamentary traditions and in part because of geography, which gives their attitudes a Western Hemisphere character.

One of the areas of closest co-operation between Canada and the West Indies has been in the continuing struggle for economic and social development. At the 1966 Commonwealth Caribbean-Canada Conference in Ottawa, the Canadian Government announced its intention of increasing development assistance to the region to a minimum of \$75 million over the next five years, in addition to providing \$5 million for the University of the West Indies and \$1 million for the University of Guyana. Canadian assistance takes many forms: in Jamaica it is used for the construction of rural primary schools and teachers' residences; in Trinidad and Guyana it is used in the development of a dairy programme; in Barbados, the Windwards and Leewards, it is concentrated on agricultural and water-resources development, education and air-transportation facilities; and, in all the territories, Canadian aid funds are used to carry out pre-investment and feasibility studies. Canada also helps many West Indian students to study at Canadian and West Indian universities, and provides Canadian teachers and technical experts to work in the Caribbean.

The tour also demonstrated that the Governor General could represent Canada's Head of State, the Queen, in official visits abroad. In this capacity it is appropriate for him to receive the honours normally accorded to a head of state. Former Governors General of Canada have paid official visits to the United States and to Brazil just as the Governor General of New Zealand has visited the islands of the Southwest Pacific and Singapore. This practice was accepted by all four Commonwealth Caribbean governments.

Jamaica

On his arrival in Jamaica, Mr. Michener was greeted by the Governor General of Jamaica, Sir Clifford Campbell, and Lady Campbell, and by Prime Minister Hugh Shearer, Members of Parliament and other dignitaries. That evening, in his address to guests gathered for a state dinner given by the Jamaican Governor General, Mr. Michener commented:

I know that most people would agree with us that, however indefinable, odd, and perhaps even creaking at times, the multiracial Commonwealth is an experiment unlike anything which has been thought of before, let alone tried out successfully.

Following a visit to a former Jamaican Prime Minister, Sir Alexander Bustamante, the viceregal party toured the University of the West Indies (UWI) campus at Mona and attended a reception there given by the Chancellor Princess Alice. Canada has provided funds for the construction of an addition to the library on the Mona campus, as well as providing Canadian professors and scholarships. Mr. Michener also visited the bauxite works of the Aluminum Company of Canada at Alcan Mandeville. In addition to mining facilities, alumina plants and related port installations, Alcan Jamaica Ltd. has made 30,000 acres of farm land available at low rents to local farmers for food crop and dairy production. Alcan Jamaica also has an extensive agricultural and reforestation programme under way on its property in an effort to improve the productivity of the land. Jamaica is the world's leading producer of bauxite and Alcan is one of the leading aluminum companies on the island.

One of the highlights of the visit to Jamaica was the unveiling of a plaque at Walkers Wood School marking Canada's external aid contributions to the Jamaican school system. The school was erected in 1967, one of 68 prefabricated rural schools built since 1966 with part of the \$1,500,000 in easy-term loans provided by Canada for the building of 108 such institutions. These schools will accommodate about 35,000 Jamaican children, thereby helping alleviate the island's drastic shortage of physical facilities for education. The Jamaican Minister of Education, Mr. Edwin Allen, praised the work of Canadian teachers in Jamaica and said the Province of Ontario had also helped by liberally providing books and other materials for Jamaica's schools. Upon arriving at Walkers Wood School, the Micheners were greeted by a coloured straw arrangement on the wall which had been prepared by the students and read "Bonjour, Hello". The 300 children, ranging in age from seven to 15, sang and cheered for the Canadians who chatted with them as they toured the classrooms. On another trip, the Micheners visited May Pen Secondary Technical School, about 40 miles from Kingston. Part of the cost of both the school and the hospital equipment at the May Pen Hospital were provided by Canada, as well as some of the equipment in the school.

The Micheners were given a warm and enthusiastic welcome by all levels of Jamaican society. Local television and radio coverage was remarkably thorough and universally friendly. The Governor General and Mrs. Michener particularly welcomed the opportunity to mingle with Jamaicans at work and with schoolchildren. Their visit served to underline and consolidate in a notable way the close and friendly relations between Jamaica and Canada.

Guyana

On arrival at Atkinson Airport on February 15, Governor-General and Mrs. Michener were welcomed by Guyana's Governor General Sir David Rose and



Mrs. Michener, who holds an earthenware bowl given to her by the Wai Wai Indians of Guyana, watches the Governor General test his gift from the Wai Wai, a bow and arrow. At the extreme right is Sir David Rose, Governor General of Guyana.

lady Rose and by Prime Minister and Mrs. Forbes Burnham. After a 21-gun salute, Mr. Michener inspected a colourful and impressive military guard, while the band of the Guyana Defence Force played the national anthems of both countries with instruments provided by Canada as an independence gift to Guyana. After greeting many Guyanese dignitaries and several Canadian families who were present at the airport, the viceregal party proceeded to Georgetown, where they encountered large crowds lining the streets whose response possessed the typical Guyanese friendliness and warmth.

On Monday the Governor General visited the Parliament Buildings, where he was welcomed by Prime Minister Burnham. In reply to an address of welcome by the Prime Minister, Mr. Michener remarked that he had enjoyed five years in the Speaker's seat of the Canadian Parliament and felt at home in the Guyanese Parliament both because of that fact and also because the two countries shared a common Parliamentary background. Mr. Michener also drew attention to the fact that Canada's aid to Guyana was on a higher *per capita* basis than its aid to any other country. He went on to say:

One primary purpose of my visit is to thank you and your people for the notable contribution which you made to our celebrations in 1967 of the hundredth anniversary of the Canadian Confederation. The architecturally interesting pavilion and your unique participation in the cultural life of Expo 67 — notably the Guyanarama — attracted the favourable attention of many of the 50 million visitors to that great international fair in Montreal, and gave a special expression to the vitality and life which are evident in the social and economic life of independent Guyana.

Following his visit to Parliament, the Governor General was received by the Mayor and Council at Georgetown City Hall, where he was presented with a golden key to the city by Lord Mayor Archie Codrington. In his address to the City Council, Mr. Michener transmitted a message of friendly greeting from Mayor Reid of Ottawa, whose city is twinned with Georgetown.

On Tuesday the Governor General visited Mackenzie, some 65 miles up the Demerara River, where Alcan's subsidiary, the Demerara Bauxite Company Limited, conducts its operations. He was given an extensive tour, during which he had an opportunity to view Demba's unique bauxite-mining operation and to tour its plants and the surrounding community. Demba has built up comprehensive community facilities at Mackenzie, which is now the second largest urban area in Guyana. Demba's production represents about 80 per cent of the total output of the Guyanese bauxite and alumina industry; and sales of metal-grade bauxite, calcined bauxite and alumina constitute the country's largest group of exports (35 per cent in 1964). During the stop at Mackenzie, Mr. Michener had an opportunity to meet many Canadians living in that area, including Demba employees and CUSO volunteers. For the first time in his Caribbean tour, he exercised his traditional prerogative to give the Guyanese and Canadian children a half-holiday from school.

The following day, the Governor General and Mrs. Michener travelled to Berbice, a predominantly East Indian area in the northeast, next to Surinam, for a look at rural Guyana. Included in that trip was a visit to Port Mourant, the birthplace of Dr. Cheddi Jagan, Leader of the Opposition. An extremely warm and enthusiastic reception was given Their Excellencies by the inhabitants of the Berbice region, especially by the thousands of schoolchildren waving paper Canadian and Guyanese flags who turned out to greet the visitors. Obviously pleased with the reception, the Micheners stopped their cavalcade on several occasions and walked along the road chatting and shaking hands. Speeches during the day mentioned Canada's contribution to the people in the "ancient country" of Berbice, particularly the contribution of the Canadian churches to education and, more recently, the provision of a fish-processing plant and marketing centre and a proposed technical institute in New Amsterdam through Canada's development assistance programme. In his welcoming address, the Mayor of New Amsterdam, in addition to calling for continued assistance, mentioned his desire to twin his city with a Canadian city, like Georgetown with Ottawa.

During their last full day in Guyana, the Micheners visited the interior of

the country. Their tour included stops at Kato, an Amerindian centre on the Pakaraima Plateau, Konashen, an Amerindian village on the edge of the Amazon valley near the southern border, and the Dadanawa Ranch in the Rupununi savannahs. Konashen, near the Brazilian border, is the adopted home of approximately 500 primitive Wai Wai Amerindians, who provided a uniquely colourful climax to the visit. One Canadian photographer who accompanied the party stated enthusiastically that he had taken over 400 pictures during the one-hour stay at Konashen. The Wai Wai, who were led from a nomadic life to a settled though primitive form of agriculture, and to Christianity, by the Unevangelized Fields Mission of Philadelphia, have built a thatched hut 80 feet high that serves as a church. For this occasion, they had painted themselves with red and blue dyes. They presented Mr. Michener with a bow and arrow and Mrs. Michener with an attractively-decorated clay bowl.

The departure from Guyana was particularly happy as large and enthusiastic crowds, including hundreds of flag-waving schoolchildren, gathered along the route and at the airport. Never before had a head of state or representative travelled so extensively in Guyana and probably never had there been such an impact and such a popular welcome throughout the country. There is no doubt that the visit has done a great deal to underline the close co-operation existing between Canada and Guyana, a fellow Commonwealth country on the South American continent.

Barbados

Barbados is 166 square miles in area with a population of about 250,000, and the relatively relaxed pace of the visit there was in contrast to the strenuous but exciting journeying in the geographically larger but less developed Guyana. Following the state dinner given by Governor-General Sir Winston Scott and Lady Scott on the night of Mr. Michener's arrival in Barbados, the Canadian visitors witnessed an unforgettable spectacle as the mounted branch of the Royal Barbados Police Force performed a musical ride in the illuminated gardens of Government House. Another memorable event was a "Thinking Day" rally held by the Girl Guides of Barbados, at which Mr. Michener addressed the 4,000 Scouts and Guides in his capacity as Chief Scout of Canada.

With a Trafalgar Square in the centre of Bridgetown, Anglican churches dotted across the countryside and the Parliament Buildings, which were erected in 1680, Barbados often reminds visitors of England, and Barbadians are proud of their legislature, which was created in 1639, the second-oldest colonial legislature in the Commonwealth. Canada's Governor General was given the honour of addressing a joint session of the Barbadian Parliament, where he said:

I think particularly of the possibility of technical assistance of a kind which we are qualified to give — for example in the field of agriculture and industry.

This possibility was partially realized in mid-March, when it was announced that Barbados had signed an agreement with Canadian Executive Service

Overseas (CESO), a private organization which sends Canadian businessmen to share their business knowledge and administrative skills with people in developing countries. Canada has also supplied Barbados with some Holstein-Friesian cattle which, it is hoped, will form the nucleus of a dairy industry.

The Governor General visited many of the new industries which are springing up on the island as a result of the Government's campaign to lessen dependence on sugar and increase industry and tourism. With tax incentives, duty-free entry of raw material for exporting industries and financial assistance where necessary, as well as the advantageous location of the island on shipping and air routes and its relatively well-educated labour force, Barbados has succeeded in attracting several new industries which manufacture on the island for export to the Caribbean and elsewhere. The Governor General visited a pharmaceutical company, a handbag factory and International Scientific Ltd., where several score young Barbadian women are busily engaged in manufacturing components for computers and other types of industrial equipment for export to the United States. This was followed by a visit to the High Altitude Research Project (HARP), where experiments are conducted in launching small objects into space by propulsion from a large naval gun. The Governor General also visited Bellairs Research Institute of McGill University, where graduate students from McGill conduct research in marine biology in bright, airy laboratories and beneath the sea.

Mr. Michener turned a potentially awkward visit to the Cave Hill Campus of the University of the West Indies into a much-publicized triumph when he borrowed and waved aloft a placard reading "Stop Racism", and said that he could agree with that. About 16 placard-carrying protesters had gathered to protest alleged racial discrimination at Sir George Williams University in Montreal. In his speech to the students inside, which the Barbados *Advocate-News* termed "stirring", Mr. Michener said that he hoped the UWI would avoid the turmoil and friction of Canadian universities and learn from their experiences. He noted that computers were "completely devoid of any sentiment or human feeling, including racial prejudice", and said he hoped that the Cave Hill campus would one day have a computer. Referring to the trial of students charged with destroying the computer at Sir George Williams, he said:

I think I can assure you that you should have the confidence in our courts which I have in yours because I know we both have grown in the same mould....

Mr. Michener's impromptu speech brought sustained applause from those present, including the students.

Trinidad and Tobago

The Governor General was met at Piarco Airport, during a drenching tropical downpour, by Governor-General Sir Solomon Hochoy, Prime Minister Williams Members of the Cabinet and foreign and Trinidadian dignitaries. However despite the inclement weather, the reception proceeded with precision and

despatch. The first event on the visit to Trinidad was to have been a tour of the University of the West Indies campus at St. Augustine, where Canada Hall, a student residence, had been built with \$700,000 in Canadian aid funds. On arrival at the University, however, the official party found the gates to the campus blocked by 60 to 70 placard-waving student protesters. As in Barbados, the students were protesting alleged "racism" in Canada in relation to incidents at Sir George Williams University. Unlike the Barbadian protesters, however, the Trinidadian students refused to let the Governor General pass and, when Mr. Michener attempted to speak to them, they refused to listen. Consequently, the party proceeded to Port-of-Spain and the tour of the St. Augustine campus was cancelled. The reaction to the student blockade, as measured by editorials and letters to the editor as well as personal remarks of prominent Trinidadians and a front-page article by "Mighty Sparrow", Trinidad's most famous Calypsonian, was highly critical. The following editorial comment by the Trinidad *Guardian* is representative of the reaction:

If we were to merely accuse our university students of indiscretion, we ourselves would be guilty of making a gross understatement. Their behaviour at the gates of the university yesterday was disorderly, discourteous and downright insulting.

It is inconceivable that any conscious attempt could have done greater injustice to their cause than yesterday's unfortunate demonstration. Through their misguided militancy, they have . . . embarrassed Trinidad and Tobago, and condemned the students on trial to receiving even less sympathy than they have been getting abroad.

For the rest of his trip, especially on state drives through Port-of-Spain and to Arima and San Fernando, Mr. Michener was greeted by very large and enthusiastic crowds. Schoolchildren lined the routes everywhere and on several occasions Mr. and Mrs. Michener stopped the cars and got out to speak to the young Trinidadians. In San Fernando, a vibrant programme of Caribbean dances, including a "Mini-Carnival", was presented in honour of the visiting Canadians, even though Carnival had already ended a few days earlier. The Micheners saw traditional dances, a steel band, the Queen of Carnival, East Indian "folk and dance" and the "flaming limbo", while many of the inhabitants took the afternoon off to cheer the visitors and enjoy the festivities.

As in Barbados, Mr. Michener attended a joint session of the Senate and the House of Representatives of Trinidad and Tobago. In his welcoming address, Mr. Montano, the Leader of the House, noted that friendship between Trinidad and Canada "has always been one of our primary objectives" and he pointed to the 1925 Canada-West Indies Trade Agreement as one of the first examples of this friendship. He also noted the appreciation of his people for the two ships which Canada provided to the old Federation and which still served the islands, for the residence at the St. Augustine campus, and for the scholarships which were enabling Trinidadian students to study in Canada. Mr. Montano praised the work of early Canadian missionaries, particularly the Reverend John Morton, who in 1871 opened the first school for East Indian children, on an island which is 40 percent East Indian.

The trip to Trinidad and Tobago was aptly summed up in the following editorial from the Trinidad *Guardian* :

To say that the visit to Trinidad and Tobago of the distinguished Governor-General of Canada has been a success would be merely repeating the obvious. Seldom has a visiting dignitary, of whatever rank, so endeared himself to the public of this country or made as favourable an impression. It would, of course, have been surprising if His Excellency had permitted himself to be ruffled by the uncouth display which he encountered at the St. Augustine campus of the West Indies University on the first day of his visit.

The great Dominion could hardly have designated a better representative to fill the exalted office of Governor General of a country with which Trinidad and Tobago has long had such close and intimate ties. Canada has been one of our best friends over uncounted years, and it would be impossible for us to feel anything less than gratitude, goodwill, and esteem for a Commonwealth nation to which we owe so much in so many different ways.



Prime Minister Pierre Elliott Trudeau in conversation with President Richard M. Nixon at the White House during the recent official visit to Washington by Mr. Trudeau.

NATO in Canadian Perspective

A SPEECH BY THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR EXTERNAL AFFAIRS,
THE HONOURABLE MITCHELL SHARP, TO THE CANADIAN INSTITUTE
OF INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS CONFERENCE, UNIVERSITY OF
CALGARY, MARCH 1, 1969.

Two Canadian Prime Ministers, Mr. St. Laurent and Mr. Pearson, were among the founders and chief architects of NATO. Twenty years later, under a new Prime Minister, Canada is reviewing its foreign and defence policies, and one of the key questions is whether or not Canada should stay in NATO. Within the last few weeks, the British Prime Minister and the German Chancellor, meeting in Bonn, have reaffirmed their full support of the alliance, and the President of the United States, at NATO headquarters in Brussels and in other European capitals, has renewed his country's pledge to stay in Europe and to stay in NATO. General de Gaulle, with all his distrust of what he likes to call "the American hegemony", has kept France in the alliance, maintains two divisions in Germany and, although he has withdrawn his forces from the unified NATO command, fosters the closest liaison between the French and NATO headquarters.

Why, then, is Canada, an outward-looking, internationally-minded country, closely tied by history, geography and national interest to the United States and Western Europe, the one country currently conducting a fundamental review of its role in the NATO alliance? First let me make clear that the review has not been undertaken for reasons of narrow domestic self-interest. Canada is very far from being a self-contained economy, our standard of living and our very ability to survive depend on a world-wide pattern of foreign trade. No nation in this position can turn inward upon itself and ignore its international responsibilities. To live and to grow, Canada needs a stable and prosperous world.

Twin Aims of Policy

Regardless of any review, the whole thrust of Canada's foreign policy is directed toward the twin objectives of world order and world prosperity. This means that, for its own self-interest and its own self-respect, Canada must make its proper contribution to the maintenance of world peace and the raising of the world standard of living. These are political objectives and are pursued in the United Nations and NATO by means of other groupings such as the Commonwealth and the newly-founded *Francophonie* and bilaterally with the nations of the world.

The pursuit of these political objectives involves military activity, which for Canada is not and cannot be a matter of national ambition but, rather, a contribution to keeping world peace, and foreign aid as a contribution to raising the standard of living in less-developed countries.

The purpose of the current review of foreign and defence policy is not to question whether Canada should be engaged in political activity, keeping the peace and foreign aid. And it is not to question the value of NATO as such, for NATO is going to continue for some time to come, with the support of its European members and the United States, no matter what we do.

The review of our foreign and defence policies is designed to find out if we are serving our own interests best and making our most effective contribution to world order and world prosperity under our present arrangements. If not, these arrangements will be changed. Coming to NATO, the questions the review asks are the same: Is membership in NATO in Canada's national interest? Does membership in NATO represent an effective Canadian contribution to the maintenance of world peace?

I can't answer these questions for you today, since the Government has not yet arrived at any conclusion. I can, however, discuss with you the background against which the decision will be made and some of the considerations that will bear upon it.

The late Forties was a critical period for the Western world. Wartime co-operation between the Western Allies and the Soviet Union had disappeared. In three years, the U.S.S.R. had established political domination over five Eastern European countries and part of Germany, together making up a population of about 100 million. The final takeover of Czechoslovakia also saw growing Soviet pressure on such countries as Finland, Turkey and Iran, and the blockade of Berlin. Canada, having seen two world wars explode out of European quarrels, saw yet another explosive situation developing.

Western Europe, weakened by war, feared both aggression from the powerful military forces maintained by the Soviet Union and Moscow-directed internal Communist subversion.

Genesis of Alliance

The democracies of Western Europe had to find a way to protect themselves and the way of life they represented. Hopes that the United Nations might be able to provide such protection through universal collective security had soon been dispelled — in part by the indiscriminate Soviet use of the veto. This was the background against which NATO came into being, a pooling of resources by like-minded nations to protect a common way of life.

While the immediate threat which led to the establishment of NATO was to the Western European democracies, it was seen in Canada and the United States as directly affecting North American security. The lesson of two world wars had been learned, and we accepted the fact that we could hardly remain

uninvolved if a third such war should break out. At the same time, however, Canada shared the general feeling that it was possible to benefit by past mistakes; that, by taking the right action at the right time, it should be possible to prevent a war rather than have to fight it. Gradually, it came to be accepted that the effective action which was required could only be achieved on a collective basis. Mr. St. Laurent was the first Western statesman to express this conclusion, when he said on July 11, 1948 :

We believe that it must be made clear to the rulers of the totalitarian Communist states that, if they attempt by direct or indirect aggression to extend their police states beyond their present bounds by subduing any more free nations, they will not succeed unless they can overcome us all.

All this was 20 years ago, and perhaps the most telling answer to the question of whether NATO has been worthwhile is to be found in the simple fact that since its establishment no further European countries have fallen under Soviet domination — either through direct military intervention or by subversion. The nations of Western Europe have grown and prospered. In a period marked by violence and conflict in other parts of the world, Europe has enjoyed a unique degree of stability. NATO's success is often taken for granted these days, but this fact should not be allowed to detract from its achievements. Paradoxically, it is the fact of NATO's success that permits the luxury of questioning the need for it. I am often asked how one can be sure that the 20 years of peace Europe has enjoyed is due to the existence of NATO. I suppose in the end there is no substantive proof, but I can tell you this: The question is one which is easily asked in Calgary, 6,000 miles from the Iron Curtain. But it is a question that simply is not asked by those who live their daily lives in the shadow of massive Soviet forces.

NATO is unique in the sense that it is the only example of a formal alliance that operates effectively in peacetime. Fifteen countries, despite their inevitable conflicts in national interest, have been able to continue to co-operate for two decades. This is a major accomplishment, and something to celebrate. It also bears on the contention that the members of NATO have not, in fact, faced a real threat from the Soviet Union — that the danger they see is imaginary. If 15 independent states have been prepared to make the effort required to maintain an effective alliance arrangement for 20 years, there must be a commonly perceived danger to which they consider a collective response the best answer. The danger is quite clear. The Soviet Union continues to increase and streamline its enormous military potential; its intentions remain uncertain; and there are unsolved problems in Europe which could ignite a nuclear war because they involve the vital interests of the super-powers. Canada cannot remain indifferent to this danger.

Unique Character of Alliance

To deal with this situation, NATO has developed features which distinguish

it from old-time alliances and make it a uniquely modern instrument of collective security.

First, it provides effective defence on a relatively economical basis. By a pooling of resources under a unified command rather than reliance on individual effort, the members of the alliance help to ensure that in times of crisis or actual conflict there will be a quick and effective response. In an age of split-second timing and enormously complex and expensive weapons systems, the security which NATO provides to its members could not be attained in any other way.

Secondly, NATO is the instrument whereby the protection afforded by the United States nuclear deterrent is extended to Europe. By co-operating with the United States in continental defence, Canada contributes to the overall deterrent strength of the alliance.

Thirdly, because the member countries can depend on United States nuclear protection, they do not have to produce or acquire independent control of nuclear weapons. By helping to limit the spread of these weapons, NATO contributes to the idea of "non-proliferation" and at the same time, within the alliance, helps to reduce the possibility of nuclear war occurring by accident or miscalculation.

Fourthly, NATO enables West Germany to make an effective contribution to the defence of the West. Germany has the largest single military establishment in Western Europe, but all of its forces are integrated into NATO and responsible to NATO commanders. Germany has no general staff of its own and no forces available to German commanders outside NATO. Because of the nuclear protection which Germany receives through the alliance, it has been prepared formally to renounce the right to manufacture nuclear weapons on its own territory. This was done in 1954, when Germany entered NATO.

Finally, one of the most important characteristics of the NATO system is its provision of machinery for continuing consultation on military and political issues. This arrangement gives smaller members of the alliance like Canada a chance to participate in the making of policy on a wide range of major issues of concern to us that we would not have in any other circumstances. But is this participation effective? It is often assumed that, when lesser powers sit down with a super-power, all they can do is listen and agree. There are two super-powers in the world today, and they are very different. The U.S.S.R. operates in secrecy and by stealth, without much, if any, regard for the wishes and views of its allies. The United States, on the other hand, is an open society with a government that must win elections to achieve and maintain power. While it may be in a position to dominate the alliance, by its own choice it proceeds by consent and is susceptible to many-faceted influences from within and without its borders.

While NATO brings important advantages to its members, the alliance approach also involves both military and political obligations. On the military side, in addition to the guarantee of mutual assistance under the treaty, there

is an implicit understanding that each member will make an appropriate contribution to the overall military resources of the alliance. In the political sphere, just as there is an opportunity to advance ideas and influence the actions of others in the alliance so there is a requirement to take views and interests of others into account. NATO operates by consensus and there is an expectation that, except in special circumstances, agreement will be reached.

Charge of Bureaucracy

One of the criticisms sometimes directed against NATO is that, besides placing these constraints on the freedom of action of individual members, it is a conservative bureaucracy, tending to perpetuate itself and unable to adjust effectively to changing circumstances.

In an organization made up of 15 governments, there can at times be some difficulty and delay in co-ordinating views. At the same time, to the extent that there is a braking influence, it can have a positive value in restraining a member country from taking precipitate action which could have an adverse effect on the alliance as a whole. When one is dealing with issues of war and peace (and particularly nuclear war), this could be vital. Secondly, while progress toward political solutions may appear slow when approached on a collective basis, there might otherwise well be no progress at all.

NATO, like any large and complex organization, has its imperfections. For each member the question is simple — do the advantages of belonging to NATO outweigh the disadvantages? Unlike the members of the Warsaw Pact, the members of NATO are free to withdraw if they should wish, but the fact that after 20 years none of them has so far chosen to do so suggests clearly where the balance of advantage or disadvantage lies.

Looking at NATO in today's world, we must ask ourselves: What is its role in the immediate future and where does Canada fit in?

It seems to me that a durable solution to the problems which continue to plague Europe and threaten world peace must contain two elements: a lasting settlement, on a generally acceptable basis, of the political issues of Central Europe, including the division of Germany, and the creation of some type of European security arrangement which would adequately meet the needs of all the countries concerned, both East and West.

The issues involved are complex, and this goal will not be achieved quickly or easily. If any progress is to be made, there must be some mechanism to keep the peace and at the same time contribute to the creation of a climate in which movement toward a durable solution is possible. Does NATO satisfy these dual requirements?

NATO's main emphasis in the early years was on providing a defensive shield against possible Soviet aggression in Western Europe. This continues to be a fundamental purpose of the alliance, but the emphasis is shifting as Europe's political and military circumstances change. The alliance is now devoting its

energies and attention to the twin objectives of deterrence, which is the prevention of war, and of *détente*, which is concerned with improving relations between the Eastern and Western nations.

Dual Target of Alliance

The objective of deterrence is to prevent war. To do this, the alliance must try to maintain a situation in which Soviet military adventure is obviously unrewarding and the likelihood of war breaking out in Europe is minimized. At the same time, if a conflict should occur, NATO must have the ability to respond effectively and prevent escalation to all-out nuclear war.

To achieve these objectives, NATO has developed the capacity for "flexible response". This requires NATO to have available enough military forces, both conventional and nuclear, to convince the Soviet Union that any type of armed attack on its part would be unprofitable. Above all, the strategy of flexible response attempts to avoid a situation in which NATO would be faced with the stark choice of yielding to a conventional attack or resorting to nuclear war. It is also designed to contain an incident started by accident or miscalculation long enough to make a political solution possible without resort to tactical or strategic nuclear weapons. In such a situation, days or even hours could be crucial. This is why NATO is correctly described as a peacekeeping force.

Détente calls for continuing attempts by members of the alliance — both individually and collectively — to improve relations with the states of Eastern Europe, including the Soviet Union. Obviously, this policy depends on some reciprocation from the other side. The aim is to reduce tensions and replace them with an atmosphere of confidence and stability. In such an environment it is hoped that both sides would be able to develop and respond to initiatives designed to produce durable solutions that would make the existence of armed blocs unnecessary. In this sense NATO's avowed objective is to create circumstances in which the alliance would become redundant.

The pursuit of *détente* will be a slow process, probably bedevilled by setbacks such as that which occurred in Czechoslovakia last year. Its success will be the sum total of the various individual and collective activities of the members of the alliance. Much of the progress will necessarily have to be made through bilateral relations between individual NATO members and members of the Warsaw Pact. In this process NATO has an important function to perform in providing the machinery for co-ordinating the activities of its members. What one does could have important implications for the others, and close consultation is therefore essential. There is also scope for collective initiatives, and the alliance is already at work in this area. A specific example of such a collective initiative now being examined in NATO is the proposal for balanced force reductions. This calls for negotiations between NATO and the Warsaw Pact, designed to achieve agreement on the progressive lowering of military forces on both sides. The relative balance of military strength in Europe, which

now permits a reasonable degree of stability, would be maintained at progressively lower levels. Early last summer, NATO proposed to the Warsaw Pact that discussions on this idea be initiated and, although the events in Czechoslovakia intervened, the matter has not been dropped.

Whatever Canada may decide, the alliance will continue to be the mechanism through which peace in Europe is maintained and decisions are taken on the issues affecting the evolution of East-West relations and the solution of European political problems. We must decide if these matters are of real concern to us and, if so, whether we have a better chance of influencing them in a favourable direction through continued membership in the alliance or by withdrawing.

Canada's Involvement in Europe

I appreciate that there are differing points of view as to the importance of developments in Europe for Canada and our ability to influence them. Because of this, I think the open debate we are having is highly desirable. For my part, I cannot escape the conclusion that what happens in Europe matters very much to Canada. Our interests there cover many areas — history, culture, trade and finance, to mention only a few. Perhaps the most fundamental of all, however, relates to the fact that it is in Europe that the vital interests of the super-powers are in starkest confrontation, so that there is the greatest chance of a conflict escalating into a nuclear war. Because of Canada's geographic position between the two super-powers, this war would be fought out above our very heads. This is why Canada has a direct, selfish interest in the prevention of war.

I am not suggesting here that we ignore our interests in other parts of the world, but simply that, in terms of priority, Europe and developments there must continue to have a major claim on our energy and attention for some time to come.

Last summer's events in Czechoslovakia illustrated dramatically the determination of the Soviet Union to maintain its grip on Eastern Europe. It is difficult to accept, however, that the urge for greater freedom and a better way of life now manifesting itself on the other side of the Iron Curtain can be indefinitely suppressed, even through the brutal use of force. With all the uncertainties inherent in this situation, the period ahead seems to call for a combination of vigilance and perception. Vigilance is needed to cope with the consequences for the West of further difficulties such as Czechoslovakia; perception, to discern opportunities that the inevitable process of change in Eastern Europe might provide to make progress on Europe's political problems.

Will Canadian interests in the future best be served through continued Canadian membership in NATO? One of the major concerns in our review of defence policy and related foreign-policy considerations has been to establish whether there are, in fact, any better alternatives to NATO for Canada. We are examining this problem ourselves, we are seeking the views of other informed observers and taking account of the opinions we have received from the public

at large. At the same time, a Parliamentary committee is conducting its own review of many of the issues.

If we should decide that it is in our interest to remain in NATO, it will be necessary to take account of the responsibilities as well as the benefits that go with such a policy. I mention this because there have been suggestions recently that, by withdrawing from the alliance or maintaining only nominal membership, Canada could have most of the benefits the system provides without paying for them. I doubt that this approach would appeal to many Canadians or that the benefits would, in fact, flow so readily. This is not to say that a decision to stay in NATO would mean that we stay for another 20 years, or that our military contribution will remain the same.

Governments are often accused of losing touch with the wishes and aspirations of the people, and the Government of Canada has heard such accusations often enough. But there is one issue on which the Government and the people of Canada stand foursquare together: the paramount determination to do our part to prevent war. If Canada decides to stay in NATO, it will be because we are convinced that in NATO we can effectively help to prevent war. If some other course is taken, it will be because we think such a course will better enable us to help to prevent war. No other consideration, however seductive it may appear, will be permitted to deflect Canada from its supreme objective, the prevention of war.

Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development

MINISTERIAL COUNCIL MEETING, PARIS, FEBRUARY 1969

THREE major topics — economic policy, the problems of modern society and relations with developing countries — were discussed during the eighth annual meeting of the Ministerial Council of the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development, held on February 13 and 14 in the new OECD headquarters building in Paris. Canada was represented by the Honourable Jean-Luc Pepin, Minister of Industry, Trade and Commerce.

The meeting, chaired by Dr. Karl Schiller, Minister of Economic Affairs of the Federal Republic of Germany, was marked by the retirement of the first Secretary-General of the Organization, Mr. Thorkil Kristensen of Denmark. The ministers expressed their appreciation of the distinguished services rendered to the OECD by Mr. Kristensen and unanimously elected Mr. Emile Van Lennep of the Netherlands to succeed him on September 30, 1969. The ministers also welcomed the accession of Finland to the OECD Convention, and its first participation in a ministerial meeting.

Economic Policy

A principal concern of the OECD has long been the harmonization of the economic policies of member governments. At the recent meeting, the ministers reviewed the commitment of members to promote the highest sustainable growth of their economies consistent with financial stability. While 1968 had witnessed a higher rate of growth of production than had been foreseen, severe strains had developed in some sectors, especially in the international monetary field. These strains, which were partly due to differences in the level of demand in various countries, were marked by large movements of speculative capital and rising interest rates, particularly during March and November. The ministers considered that the measures of restraint undertaken by Britain, the United States and France should lead to increased international economic stability in 1969. These measures, however, were likely to reduce the 5 percent rate of growth in production achieved for the OECD area as a whole in 1968.

In an effort to speed up the harmonizing of national economic policies, the Organization was directed to review, and, if possible, improve, the effectiveness of its consultative procedures. Particular attention was devoted to the need to evolve and apply effective measures to regulate demand. The experience of 1968 had demonstrated once again that demand-management measures required time to become fully effective. Ministers also agreed that demand management must be supplemented by structural measures aimed at correcting regional or sectoral

imbalances. Such measures would, it was hoped, enable member countries to approach full use of their resources without the reappearance of inflationary price and cost increases.

Regarding international trade and invisible transactions, the ministers agreed that countries that found it necessary to take exceptional measures to improve certain balance-of-payments situations should seek to avoid disturbances likely to hamper the expansion of foreign trade. Substantial advances in the liberalization of trade, especially with regard to the reduction of tariff barriers, have been achieved in recent years, and the ministers agreed that the OECD should study new developments in this area.

Problems of Modern Society

The rapid rate of technological progress that is transforming the social and economic structures of highly industrialized societies has been the subject of valuable consultations and exchanges of experience in the OECD. The effects of this technological transformation extend into agriculture, industry, education and the human environment. Although it has brought about an unprecedented rise in national and personal wealth and well-being, it has created new problems with international as well as national consequences, and has modified some of the conditions under which general economic policies operate. The ministers urged that the Organization pursue its studies on problems of supply and demand in agriculture, urbanization, and air and water pollution. They also noted the need to provide an adequate and meaningful education for today's youth. Particular attention was focused on the problems and advantages of the multinational corporation.

Relations with Developing Countries

Since its inception, the OECD has been concerned with the problems facing developing countries. Much valuable work in co-ordinating and harmonizing the development policies of member countries of the OECD has been carried out within the framework of the Development Assistance Committee. Over the past year, major problems confronting the developed and the developing countries in the realm of aid and trade relations have been undergoing general reassessment, both by international agencies — in particular, the Commission being led by Canada's former Prime Minister, the Right Honourable Lester B. Pearson, under the auspices of the World Bank — and by individual governments. The ministers expressed the hope that these reviews would contribute to more effective national and international policies.

They reaffirmed the need to expand the volume of aid as rapidly as possible toward the target of one per cent of the gross national product established at the second United Nations Conference on Trade and Development. They also recognized the need to avoid imposing excessive debt burdens on the developing countries which could hamper their efforts for economic development. Some

ministers considered that medium-term planning of development-aid expenditures could be useful in this respect. The ministers stressed specifically the importance of aid programmes that would meet the educational and agricultural requirements of developing countries.

The problem of trade relations, distinct from that of the direct provision of financial or technical assistance to the developing countries, has been acknowledged to be a matter requiring the urgent attention of member governments. For some time, OECD members have been involved in the elaboration of a general, non-reciprocal preferential tariff scheme for the exports of developing countries. Most member governments have presented recommendations for such a scheme with a view to consultations with developing countries at a later stage.

Canada is a charter member of the OECD and has always played an active role in the work of the Organization. The following is the text of the statement made to Parliament by the Minister of Industry, Trade and Commerce on the OECD meeting:

"... This was the regular annual meeting of the ministers of OECD countries to review major economic trends and developments during the past year and prospects for the months ahead.

"The OECD provides an important forum for joint consultation among the countries of Western Europe and North America and Japan over the whole range of economic policy matters, including finance and external aid. Economic conditions in these key countries have a determining influence on the growth of the world economy as a whole. Thus the importance of close co-operation in economic and monetary policies among them cannot be over-emphasized.

"The agenda for the recent meeting covered three main topics. As for economic policy, reference was made in particular to the interdependence between international commercial and financial activities, and the need to avoid disturbances likely to affect the expansion of trade. I drew the attention of the delegates to the welcome increase in the export of capital from Europe, from which Canada has benefited in recent months.

"The second topic dealt with was problems of modern society. The OECD will be examining in detail some of the implications for economic policy arising from the rapid rate of technological progress in the industrialized world. In this connection, the delegates' attention was drawn more particularly to the growth of multinational corporations. I indicated that the questions raised by the operations of such corporations are, for Canada, of particular importance and suggested that the OECD should seek to develop internationally recognized ways and means of reconciling the various interests involved.

"The third topic covered was relations with developing countries, where OECD countries also have a major role to play. I assured Canada's support for the proposed scheme of tariff preferences for the developing world and indicated the importance we attach to achieving an improvement in both the volume and the conditions of aid granted by industrialized countries."

Kainji Dam Opened in Nigeria

ON February 15, 1969, the Nigerian Head of State, Major-General Yakubu Gowon, commissioned the Kainji Dam on the Niger River 350 miles north of Lagos. In addition to ancillary economic benefits, the Dam will produce sufficient electricity to satisfy the requirements of an expanding Nigerian economy for many years. Arrangements are in hand to distribute electricity to all parts of the Federation and, in time, other power-dams will be built in the region as they are required.

The Kainji Dam was made possible by international co-operation inspired by Nigerian initiative. The first stage commissioned by General Gowon cost \$261 million, of which Nigeria provided \$108 million from its own resources. The World Bank lent \$105 million; Italy, \$28 million; Britain, \$15 million; the Netherlands, \$3 million; and the United States, \$2,900,000. Canada's contribution of \$1,700,000 was an outright gift.



Part of the official group that attended the commissioning of the Kainji Dam (left to right): Lieutenant-Commander Diette Spiff, Military Governor of Nigeria's River State; Lieutenant-Colonel D. Bamgboye, Military Governor of Kwara State; Mr. Arthur Baylis, representing the consultant engineers who designed the dam; Major-General Gowon; Mr. R. D. Nevison, head of the Ontario Hydro team working on the dam; Mr. Jasper Ings, Chairman, Niger Dam Authority; Rear-Admiral Wey, Officer Commanding the Nigerian Navy.

Canada's Contribution

Although Canada's financial participation was minor compared to that of some other participants, the role played by Canadians in helping to make the project a success was singled out for praise in General Gowon's address, when he said:

The Canadian Government found for us an able and experienced chairman for the Niger Dam Authority and also gave us a technical team to operate the hydro-electric station and train Nigerians for eventual take-over.

The General was referring to Mr. Jasper Ings, a distinguished Canadian engineer who for the past six years has headed the Nigerian government agency responsible for the dam, and also to 16 employees of Ontario Hydro who were engaged by the Canadian Government to operate the power equipment and to train Nigerians as replacements. Representatives in Lagos of governments contributing to the project, including the High Commissioner for Canada, were special guests at the commissioning ceremony.

General Gowon predicted that the dam would have a revolutionary impact on the economic and social life of Nigeria. It was, he said, a source of pride to all Nigerians that it had been completed despite difficulties arising from the civil war. His Government's determination to carry the project through had been assisted morally and materially by Nigeria's friends abroad, and he hoped that eventually electricity from the Kainji installations would flow to neighbouring states that now lacked resources of electric generation.

Growth of Project

Plans for the eventual construction of the Kainji Dam were foreshadowed in 1951, when the Federal Government engaged a firm of engineers from the Netherlands to make a study of the hydro potential of Nigeria's two great rivers, the Niger and Benue. Construction at Kainji began in 1963; more than 15,000 men, including 800 expatriate technicians, were involved in this construction. As work proceeded, 42,000 people residing on the river banks above the dam were resettled in 124 new villages and two new towns. Each village was built as close as possible to the old to permit its inhabitants to remain in familiar surroundings.

When General Gowon commissioned the dam, three generators of 80-megawatt capacity had been installed. A further nine generators of equal capacity are now being installed and this addition will result in a total output of 960 megawatts, which is expected to meet all electricity demands in Nigeria until 1980 and allow some export of power. Besides providing an assured supply for a growing population and an expanding industry, the dam will save the Nigerian authorities tens of millions of pounds in foreign exchange now being spent on the importation of fuel and equipment for existing thermal-power stations.

A series of locks built concurrently with the dam will facilitate the development of the Niger as a commercial waterway. These locks by-pass the most

dangerous rapids on the river, for most of the year permitting travel by barge to Niamey, the capital of Niger, situated more than 1,000 miles from the Atlantic coast. Another by-product is the ability to control the frequent floods that formerly devastated large areas of farmland downstream. Flood control will facilitate irrigation and expansion of agriculture below the dam, while above it the 85-mile-long lake constituting the dam's reservoir has become an important inland fishing-ground with a predicted annual yield of 10,000 tons of fish. Furthermore, the resettlement project has brought with it considerable improvement in the standard of living, particularly in health, of the local populace.

Probably one of the most important benefits of the Kainji Dam project, apart from the above-mentioned economic and social advantages, has been the growth of international confidence in the future of Nigeria.

Franco-Canadian Joint Commission

THIRD MEETING, PARIS, 1969

ON NOVEMBER 17, 1965, Canada and France signed an agreement to encourage the development and maintenance of close contacts between cultural, artistic, scientific and technical institutions of both countries. Among other things, the agreement provided for the creation of a Franco-Canadian Joint Commission, which would meet alternately in Paris and Ottawa to examine the progress achieved in cultural exchange and to study the possibilities for increased co-operation. The Joint Commission met in Ottawa for the second time in 1967, and its third session took place in Paris on February 18, 1969.

The Paris meeting was under the chairmanship of Mr. Jean Jurgensen, Minister Plenipotentiary for American Affairs at the French Foreign Ministry. The Canadian delegation was led by Mr. André Bissonnette, Assistant Under-Secretary of State in the Department of External Affairs, and included representatives of Canadian agencies interested in cultural exchanges with France and, for the first time, officials from New Brunswick and Ontario — Mr. Robert Pichette, Cultural Relations Attaché and Executive Assistant to the Premier of New Brunswick, and Professor C. E. Rathé, Educational and Cultural Exchange Programme Co-ordinator of the Ontario Department of Education.

In the course of their discussions, which were conducted in a spirit of cordiality, the delegates on both sides reviewed the cultural, scientific, technical and artistic exchanges that had taken place since the Commission's previous meeting, and considered means of fostering their further development.

Films, Broadcasting and Books

The Commission decided to renew the commercial agreement of 1963 for co-production of films. The opening in Canada of Unifrance Film offices and the establishment of the Canadian Film Development Corporation, with a capital of \$10 million, can be expected to lend considerable impetus to Franco-Canadian co-production undertakings. The Commission also reviewed the personnel and programme exchanges which had long been characteristic of the co-operation between the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation and the French national broadcasting network (ORTF) and studied the possibilities of increasing these exchanges.

The Commission expressed a wish for the development of closer ties between the National Libraries of France and Canada, and for co-operation in library-management techniques. Exhibitions of books, to facilitate a deeper knowledge of French literature, are to be organized in numerous centres in Canada. As the world's second-largest buyer of French books, Canada will have

what is sure to be the largest pavilion at the International Festival in Nice in the spring of 1970. A sum of \$50,000 has been allocated to the organization of the pavilion and to Canadian participation in Festival activities.

Scientific Exchanges

In 1967, the National Research Council of Canada signed a scientific research agreement with the Cultural Relations Branch of the French Government calling for the exchange of 26 experts from each country. The NRC allocated \$100,000 to this programme, and by the end of 1968 it exceeded the number of exchanges envisaged. The Joint Commission decided to extend the exchange programme into 1969 on the same basis as before, and to study the possibility of increasing the scope of the agreement in 1970.

The Commission also decided to examine the possibility of increased exchanges in areas other than those covered by the NRC agreement, and meetings of experts will be arranged for this purpose.

Academic and Artistic Exchanges

Both delegations reviewed the achievements of the last two years in this sphere and expressed satisfaction combined with hope for the increased growth of these exchanges. Both announced increases in the number of university and research scholarships offered to one another's nationals. On the Canadian side, the number of these scholarships is being increased from 110 to 150; they are granted by the Department of External Affairs and administered by the Canada Council, and will represent a contribution of some \$600,000 in the coming year. This is in addition to the \$1 million paid by the Canada Council to nearly 300 members of Canadian universities for study and research in France. Although such scholarships account for the greater part of the money set aside for this purpose, the academic programme also includes exchanges of university professors, secondary-school teachers and assistants.

During 1968, more than \$300,000 was paid in subsidies to theatrical, ballet and modern-dance groups for performances and tours in France. Thus, Parisians were entertained by Les Feux-Follets in the early autumn of last year and, as is widely known, the Royal Winnipeg Ballet won public acclaim in the form of two gold medals at the International Dance Festival in Paris. Other theatrical and musical groups and soloists were also granted subsidies, enabling them to participate in "Canada Weeks" in France and a variety of other cultural activities.

In the realm of visual art, two large exhibitions have been organized since 1967 by the National Gallery of Canada, under the auspices of the Department of External Affairs. These were "Canadian Art Today" and the retrospective exhibition of paintings by James Wilson Morrice. Small exhibitions of Eskimo engravings and handicrafts were held in such French provincial cities as Avignon, Poitiers, Pau and Saintes, and included items from the collections of engravings

and handicrafts acquired by the Department of External Affairs. Last spring, an exhibition entitled "Réalités canadiennes", in which elements of these collections were displayed with the aid of a wide variety of audio-visual techniques, attracted 24,000 visitors to the exhibition hall on the Champs-Élysées. Mention must also be made of the National Gallery's contribution to the Biennale des Jeunes in Paris.

The performing arts programme for the months ahead will include a tour by Les Grands Ballets canadiens and performances by Maureen Forrester, contralto, and Jacques Beaudry, conductor, at the Festival du Marais in Paris. In addition, France will be sending the Comédie de Bourgogne to Canada.

Visual arts events will include a large exhibition of masterpieces of Canadian Indian and Eskimo art, to be held at the Museum of Man in Paris. Parisians will also have an opportunity to see works by young Canadians participating in the Biennale des Jeunes at the Museum of Modern Art, and an exhibition of drawings by masters of that art which is being sent to the Louvre from the National Gallery of Canada. France will be sending a large exhibition of ceramics to Montreal and Toronto, in co-operation with the National Gallery of Canada.

Technical Co-operation

The Commission decided to study the possibility of establishing an exchange programme for professional trainees in all fields. It was also noted that youth exchanges, particularly those in connection with such Canadian and French programmes as "Jeunes Voyageurs", "Connaissance de la France" and "Connaissance de l'Ontario", are arousing a great deal of interest among young people in both countries. These programmes will be continued and, in some cases, expanded.

The record of this third session of the Franco-Canadian Joint Commission is, therefore, one of very positive accomplishment. Specifically, it demonstrated that cultural relations between France and Canada had entered a new phase. From the Canadian point of view, the importance attached to these relations is all the greater for the fact that this country sees in them a means of pursuing the policy of bilingualism and biculturalism, both at home and abroad, desired by the Government.

United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization

FIFTEENTH GENERAL CONFERENCE, PARIS, 1968

DELEGATIONS from 125 member states, including those from three new member states — Barbados, Mauritius and South Yemen — attended the fifteenth biennial General Conference of the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization, which was held at UNESCO headquarters in Paris from October 15 to November 20, 1968.

The Canadian delegation was led by Mr. Napoléon Leblanc, Vice-rector of Laval University and President of the Canadian National Commission for UNESCO. Mr. L. H. Bergstrom, Deputy Minister of Education, Saskatchewan, and Mr. G. C. McInnes, Canadian Permanent Delegate to UNESCO, were deputy heads of the delegation, which included: Mr. G. W. MacKenzie, Director, Inspection Services, Department of Education of Nova Scotia; Mr. J. R. Meredith, Deputy Director, Teaching Service, Department of Education of British Columbia; Miss Madeleine Joubert, Director-General of the Institut canadien d'éducation des adultes (Canadian Institute for Adult Education); Dr. George M. Volkoff, Head of the Physics Department, University of British Columbia; Mr. Marc-Adélar Tremblay, Professor of Anthropology, Laval University; Mr. J. Alphonse Ouimet, Past President of the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation; Mr. David W. Bartlett, Secretary-General of the Canadian National Commission for UNESCO.

Advisers to the delegation were: Dr. William S. Rogers, Head of the French Department, Trinity College, University of Toronto; Dr. J. J. MacDonald, Dean of the Faculty of Science, St. Francis Xavier University; Mr. Pierre Dumas, Canadian Embassy, Rome; Mr. P. E. J. Charpentier, Canadian Delegation to the OECD in Paris; Mr. Robert G. Blackburn, Permanent Canadian Delegation to UNESCO.

Observers were the Honourable F. W. Rowe, Minister of Education for Newfoundland and the Honourable W. E. Meldrum, Minister of Education for New Brunswick.

Canada, represented by Mr. J. Alphonse Ouimet, chaired the Sub-commission on Information. Mr. David Bartlett was appointed chairman of a task force which dealt with man and his environment, and Mr. Pierre Charpentier, Canada's representative on the Legal Committee, was elected rapporteur of the Committee. At the close of the Conference, Canada was given a new mandate within the Legal Committee for the sixteenth General Conference.

For Canada, the outstanding result of the Conference was its increased participation in the Organization's policy-making through the election of a



Members of the Canadian delegation to the fifteenth General Conference of UNESCO : (Seated left to right): Mr. Marc-Adélarde Tremblay; Miss Madeleine Joubert; Dr. George M. Volkoff. (Standing, middle row, left to right): Mr. R. G. Blackburn; Mr. G. W. Mackenzie; Mr. G. C. McInnes; Mr. Napoléon LeBlanc; Mr. L. H. Bergstrom; Mr. J. R. Meredith; Dr. William S. Rogers; Mr. J. Alphonse Ouimet. (Standing, back row, left to right): Dr. E. J. Quick; Mr. P. E. J. Charpentier; Mr. David W. Bartlett; Mr. J. J. Macdonald; Mr. Pierre Dumas.

Canadian member (Mr. G. C. McInnis, Minister and Permanent Canadian Delegate to UNESCO) to the Executive Council, the chief policy body. The Conference elected Canada, as well as the United States and Switzerland, as representatives for a six-year term in Group I (Western Europe and Others).

Mr. Rene Maheu, Director-General of UNESCO since 1962, was re-elected to this position.

Major Achievements of Conference

The debates and resolutions on general policy and on the future programme followed, on the whole, the themes which had been debated in earlier Conferences — such, for example, as education and adult education, which were focal points of interest in the UNESCO programme because of their importance to developing countries.

The Conference was, however, caught up in various innovations to the programme resulting from new achievements in the modern world. Many delegates, in plenary session and in sub-commissions, expressed concern lest

scientific and technological development should take place at the expense of the traditional cultural and moral values of society. To guard against this possibility, delegates insisted that UNESCO, in all its endeavours, aim at social development and at maintaining and encouraging the role of the human and social sciences, so as to assure the harmonizing of human and scientific development.

Delegates were also concerned with youth and its problems. This interest found expression in a special conference of young representatives from the delegations called together by the Director-General to discuss the role UNESCO might play in the rapid evolution of the world's young people.

The primary work of the General Conference is done in the programme commissions.

Administrative Commission

Various matters on the agenda having to do with finances, administration, personnel, and the Organization headquarters were examined by the Administrative Commission. The most important of these questions were: a study in detail of the proposed programme and budget for 1969-70; the application of recommendations by the UN *ad hoc* committee of experts, responsible for examining the finances of the UN family; the examination of the scale of contributions of member states; the use of Arabic as a working language; the future of the headquarters premises; the geographical distribution of offices; and the establishment of salaries, pensions and health insurance for personnel.

The UNESCO budget was the subject of lengthy discussion both in this Commission and later in the plenary session. After proposals by approximately half the member states, the Conference adopted a budget of \$77.4 million (U.S.) for 1969-70.

The use of Arabic as a working language gave rise to an extended debate. It ended with the adoption of a draft resolution presented by Pakistan, providing for the progressive expansion of the use of Arabic to the same status as that of the current working languages — English, French, Spanish and Russian.

Programme Commission

Education — The preferred place which education holds in the range of UNESCO activities was reaffirmed at the fifteenth General Conference.

The section on education in the proposed programme for 1969-70 was studied by the Sub-commission on Education along four main lines: international co-operation for the advancement of education; school and graduate teaching; extracurricular teaching; and the planning, administration and financing of education and school construction. The programme proposals submitted by the Director-General on these points were in line with the directives of the fourteenth General Conference, especially on the policy of expansion for activities in progress rather than the proliferation of new projects.

Teaching in the camps of the UN Relief and Works Agency (UNRWA) in

the Middle East has since 1950 been one of the constant and major concerns of the UNESCO programme. This year, the Sub-commission on Education was presented with a proposed resolution by the Arab states, aiming to increase the budget for this work. Debate on this proposal indicated an almost unanimous support for an increase. To meet the decision of the Sub-commission, without hindering other programmes in this field, it was decided to authorize the Director-General to use extra-budgetary funds for the \$100,000 required to expand this programme.

In reply to a request of the Executive Council at its seventy-eighth session, the Director-General submitted to the Sub-commission for discussion a special report on UNESCO youth activities. This report, suggesting a greatly expanded programme, was adopted unanimously and will be put into effect through consultation with youth leaders throughout the world.

During the debate on the future programme in this sector the Commission considered some 20 suggestions having to do either with general principles for the 1969-70 programme or with definite project proposals. These included a world conference on adult education, moral education, training of middle management and closer co-operation with international non-governmental organizations.

The Conference also associated itself with a United Nations proposal to designate 1970 as International Education Year. UNESCO will encourage its members to initiate special activities to promote the aims and principles of the Year.

The fifteenth General Conference ratified the agreement between the Director-General and the International Bureau of Education Council providing for the IBE's absorption into UNESCO. The IBE will, however, continue its work in Geneva independently and will act, above all, as a centre for comparative studies and as an education information centre. The Conference elected 21 countries to the IBE Council for a four-year term.

Natural Sciences — The delegates to the fifteenth General Conference approved the proposed programme and the allocation of funds suggested by the Secretariat for the natural sciences sector. The Conference gave an exceptionally warm reception to proposed inter-disciplinary activities in this sphere, especially in oceanography and hydrology. This enthusiasm for oceanography led to the adoption of a resolution authorizing the Director-General to take the necessary steps to encourage closer co-operation in this field with the interested organizations and agencies of the United Nations, notably by the creation of an Inter-agency Committee for the Inter-governmental Oceanographical Commission.

Canada, having been a member of the Co-ordinating Council of the International Hydrological Decade since 1964, was not a candidate for the 1969-70 term. However, it is likely that several seats will be added to the Council in 1970 and that Canada may at that time again consider seeking election.

Among the other important resolutions approved in this sector, was one submitted by Canada, in conjunction with Britain and New Zealand, in favour

of the International Seismological Centre at Edinburgh.

Task Force on Man and his Environment — The Sub-commission on the natural sciences and that on the social sciences, human sciences and culture formed a joint task force under the chairmanship of Mr. David Bartlett of Canada to study an integrated programme on man in his environment and to prepare a draft resolution on this topic. The theme "Man and his Environment" was proposed as the subject of important activities in all UNESCO sectors. Under this heading the recommendations of the recent Conference on the Biosphere are elements which may be put into effect immediately. Their implementation will depend on natural science experts, but other disciplines (social sciences, education and information) will also have their role to play. Co-ordinated activities in the social sciences sector on the social and aesthetic aspects of "environment" will round off this programme. As the projects in this field are at a less advanced state than those on the biosphere, the task force suggested that a meeting of experts be asked to elaborate a long-term plan of action which would be studied by the Executive Council and the sixteenth General Conference.

Social Sciences, Human Sciences and Culture — The Sub-commission delegates for this sector emphasized the need for an increased participation by the member states in the formulation of objectives and of guiding principles for UNESCO, in order to ensure better planning of its activities.

Earlier, the conclusions of the joint task force on man and his environment were noted. This co-operation of the sub-commissions indicated the desire, shared by many delegates, for a *rapprochement* of the natural sciences and the social sciences in the study of the problems created by man's adaptation to his environment. This co-operation would be the first step towards a closer collaboration of all disciplines, especially in research.

Speakers from several countries, including Canada, were of the opinion that in the future it would be necessary to increase notably the budget allotted for projects in this sector and the role of social sciences in the solution of problems, especially problems of development, in a technical society.

Another Canadian motion ended in the acknowledgement by the Conference of the importance of communication methods to cultural development, dissemination and exchange. It was decided that, in the social sciences and culture programme, more attention would be given to the technology and substance of modern information methods.

Information — The Sub-commission for Information, chaired by Mr. Ouimet, dealt mainly with spatial communications and action favouring the production and distribution of books and training of journalists and other information specialists in developing countries.

In the information sector, as in other sectors, the Conference stressed UNESCO's role in the use and elaboration of modern communication techniques for social and economic progress.

The Canadian delegation took the initiative, in the discussion on regional

broadcasting unions, of requesting implementation of the recommendations on spatial communications resulting from the conference of experts held in Paris during January 1968 (also chaired by Mr. Ouimet).

Youth Activities

Within the framework of the fifteenth General Conference, though not actually a part of it, was a special session called by the Director-General to exchange opinions between the Secretariat and young people on the participation of youth and young adults in UNESCO activities at the international level as well as at the national commission level.

Much emphasis was placed on the need to ensure further the co-operation of non-governmental agencies in all matters concerning youth activities, in order to maintain a constant close contact with the realities of the environment.

In the range of measures intended to favour the participation of young people, the following were proposed:

- (a) Regular publication of an information bulletin;
- (b) "re-structuring" of certain national commissions which until now have had little interest in youth and its problems;
- (c) the reorientation of UNESCO and national commission action programmes and the active participation of young people in the orientation of the organization of conferences, seminars and symposiums.

Conclusion

The main lines along which UNESCO is probably going to develop in these areas in coming years were established by the Conference. They are: continuing education; functional literacy campaign; preservation, in a technological age, of traditional, cultural and moral values; the future and the participation of young people; the acceptance by UNESCO in the field of information of the role of "trail-blazer" and planner rather than simply provider of tools.

The work accomplished by the Canadian delegation to the fifteenth General Conference of UNESCO and Canada's participation for the first time in 17 years in the Executive Council indicates a more intense Canadian co-operation in policy and in the future programme of the Organization. Accordingly, more than ever before, Canada's image in relation to education, the sciences, culture and information will increasingly be projected through the UNESCO.

Canada-Tunisia Co-operation

THE Canada-Tunisia Joint Commission, which was set up after the President of Tunisia, Mr. Habib Bourguiba, visited Canada in May 1968, met for the first time in Tunis from February 10 to 12, 1969.

The Canadian delegation was led by the Minister of Industry, Trade and Commerce, Mr. Jean-Luc Pepin. The Tunisian team was led by the Secretary of State for Planning, for the National Economy and for National Education, Mr. Ahmed Ben Salah.

During the workshop sessions of the Joint Commission, a study in depth was made of programmes already in progress; future programmes were also studied. Both delegations emphasized the gratifying state of co-operation between their countries and agreed to extend this co-operation within the context of the Tunisian social and economic development plan. The forms of co-operation between the two countries were set forth in a "declaration of principles", which is subject to the approval of both governments.

The Commission expressed the hope that trade between the two countries would develop more rapidly than in the past. With this aim in view, the Canadian delegation submitted to the Tunisian Government a plan for the elaboration of a trade agreement.

The Tunisian delegation expressed the hope that the Canadian Government would encourage private investment in Tunisia in such a way as to contribute to the Tunisian development plan.

Human Exchanges

The Commission examined steps that might be taken to promote human exchanges between the two countries, and in this connection the Tunisian delegation expressed a desire to see the development of immigration from Tunisia to Canada. The Canadian delegation took note of this.

Mr. Pepin announced that a gift of 300 Canadian works would be made to the National Library.

During his stay in Tunisia, the Minister met several Canadians who were working in that part of the world. He also visited the Childrens' Hospital in Tunis, an institution to which the Canadian Government has always attached a great deal of importance.

The Commission decided that its next meeting should be held in Canada at a date to be announced. At that meeting it will continue its examination of all questions dealing with closer co-operation between the countries and will again discuss problems of common interest. As set forth in the agreement which created the Commission, these meetings are to take place in each country alternately.

The Rule of Law in International Affairs

A SPEECH BY THE HONOURABLE MITCHELL SHARP,

SECRETARY OF STATE FOR EXTERNAL AFFAIRS, TO

OSGOODE HALL LAW STUDENTS, TORONTO, MARCH 4, 1969.

... Over the years, substantial progress has been achieved through the United Nations in setting international objectives and standards, particularly with regard to the intrinsic worth and treatment of the human being. We are continually being distressed and disheartened at the vast suffering and loss of life caused by the armed conflicts that plague the international community. But we can take some encouragement from the successful efforts of the United Nations to place the dignity of every man in an incontestable legal context. The Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the 1966 International Covenants and many other similar declarations and agreements on human rights together constitute what amounts to an International Bill of Rights.

Where the United Nations, or, more correctly, the international community at large, moves far too slowly is in the development of machinery for enforcement of these rights. Contemporary international law is still bound up with outdated conceptions of national interest, which hinder the effective settlement of disputes by peaceful means. In spite of the lack of international enforcement machinery, however, states do increasingly adhere to the generally recognized principles of international law, particularly those constituting treaty obligations. The vast interlocking network of bilateral and multilateral treaties now in effect represents the progress that has been made toward placing contemporary international relations within a legal framework. A similar advance in compulsory third-party settlement of disputes is, however, still to come.

The vigour and range of United Nations, lawmaking activities are not always fully appreciated. At the present moment, various UN bodies are studying and elaborating legal principles in the following fields: human rights, which I have already referred to; the law of treaties; the definition of aggression; the seven basic principles of international law in the United Nations Charter, which are euphemistically called "friendly relations"; private international law relating to trade; the sending and receiving of *ad hoc* special diplomatic missions; and the relations between states and international organizations. As you can see, despite gloomy pronouncements that international law is dead, it is alive and kicking at the United Nations.

New Frontiers for Lawmakers

For the future, some of the most exciting prospects lie in the application of legal principles to the new frontiers of man's endeavours. It was not so many years

ago that the discovery and study of Antractica had turned the world's southernmost continent into a source of international friction and controversy, brought on by competing territorial claims. The Antarctica Treaty of 1959 converted this area into one of peaceful co-operation. Now we are concerned with the exploration and use of outer space; and tomorrow it will likely be the sea-bed and ocean-floor.

The orbiting of the first Soviet *Sputnik* in 1957 heralded the arrival of our space age. Drawing on the Antarctic experience, the General Assembly established a Committee on the Peaceful Uses of Outer Space, which created a Legal Subcommittee, including Canada, to study "the nature of legal problems which may arise in the carrying out of programmes to explore outer space". Eventually, in 1962, sufficient agreement was achieved to make possible the unanimous adoption by the General Assembly of the "Declaration of Legal Principles Governing the Activities of States in the Exploration and Use of Outer Space". The General Assembly agreed also that the substance of the Declaration should form the basis of a treaty on outer space. Some states voluntarily declared that they would abide by the legal principles contained in the Declaration. As the United States Ambassador, Adlai Stevenson, said:

We believe these legal principles reflect international law as it is accepted by the members of the United Nations. The United States, for its part, intends to respect these principles.

The Soviet representative, Mr. Fedorenko, replied that:

The Soviet Union, for its part, will also respect the principles.

Thus, by unanimous declaration, the United States succeeded in making new international law. Canada played an active role in the embodiment of these declared principles, the Outer Space Treaty of 1967.

Law for Outer Space

The treaty confirms that the exploration and use of outer space shall be for the benefit of all countries, irrespective of the degree of their economic or scientific development. It proclaims the complete freedom of outer space and its use without discrimination of any kind. It affirms that outer space and celestial bodies, including the moon, are not subject to national appropriation and that they shall be used exclusively for peaceful purposes. It prohibits the stationing in space or on celestial bodies of nuclear weapons and other kinds of weapons of mass destruction. It also extends the provisions of international law to activities conducted in outer space and on celestial bodies. It is immensely encouraging that our fractious world community has found the wisdom to establish an orderly regime for an area which could well have become a major source of international discord.

The United Nations and its Outer Space Committee are continuing to elaborate the law of outer space. An agreement on the rescue of astronauts, the return of astronauts, and the return of objects launched into outer space came into force in December last year. It balances the interests of those state

launching and recovering astronauts and space objects with the sovereign rights of states on whose territory search and rescue operations may be conducted. But its overriding concern is for the safety and prompt return of the "envoy of mankind" — the astronaut.

The next task for the Outer Space Legal Subcommittee is to draft an agreement on liability for damage caused by objects launched into outer space. Given the dramatic increase in the number and size of space objects launched each year, it is inevitable that accidents will one day occur in which damage will be caused on earth. International lawyers are seeking to prepare for this much in the same manner as they did when aeroplanes were first introduced.

Canada is now taking a leading part in the United Nations study of the technical feasibility and related implications of one of the newest developments in space technology — direct broadcasting from satellites, beaming television programmes from one country straight into the homes of another. Satellites are of great interest to Canada, as it is our intention to establish our own domestic satellite communications system. So we collaborated with Sweden in encouraging the establishment of a special United Nations working group to study the subject and in presenting to this group a joint paper. The Swedish-Canadian paper discussed such legal problems as equitable access to the communications and other systems, preventing libel and slander, and protecting copyrights. These are matters on which there are few, if any, existing international legal rules. There will be a great need for the protection of public and private interests, and hence for more international agreements, as this field of technology opens up. These are only some of the legal consequences of this tremendous development, which will have profound and far-reaching social and political effects.

The law of outer space is developing very quickly, in an orderly and deliberate manner, despite deep ideological divergences. Development of this kind illustrates the way international law evolves by the gradual codification of rules which are perceived by states to be in their common interests. It also shows the value of the United Nations as a multilateral forum for the codification of international law.

Undersea Law

The United Nations is now turning to the development of a new legal regime for the sea-bed and ocean-floor in areas beyond the limits of national jurisdiction.

Man has long used the sea for transport and he has always taken from the sea an important part of his food supply. These traditional uses of the sea have inevitably given rise to conflict — and to the law of the sea. In the development of that law, two conceptions have contended: first, the conception of the closed sea under the jurisdiction and control of particular states; second, the conception of the open sea accessible to all nations on an equal basis. From the eighteenth century on, coastal states recognized that they could extend their sovereignty over only a narrow belt of the waters round their shores. This "territorial sea" was widely accepted as being three miles in breadth.

Today there is lively and growing interest in the sea and its resources. New types of claim to national jurisdiction are evoking new responses. The law of the sea has entered a period of rapid evolution, rich in promise but also in difficulty.

The United Nations Conferences on the Law of the Sea, at Geneva in 1958 and 1960, left unsettled the breadth of the territorial sea and the limits of fisheries jurisdiction. Canada played a leading role at both conferences and introduced a formula which very nearly provided the basis for a compromise solution. This was the conception of an exclusive fishing zone, which would preserve freedom of navigation by maintaining a narrow territorial sea, while at the same time allowing states to bring a greater part of their coastal fisheries under their jurisdiction. The fishing-zone conception has since been adopted in the legislation of a large number of countries, including the United States and Canada.

Failure to settle the territorial sea and fishing limits at the Geneva Conferences, however, has left us with national claims varying from three to 200 miles. Seizure of an intelligence ship or arrests of fishing vessels are dramatic — and dangerous — illustrations of the pressing need for international agreement on these questions.

But it is not the traditional uses of the sea which have brought about the greatest change in national attitudes. Advancing technology has made it profitable to mine the sea, to tap its mineral deposits and exploit its other resources at far greater depths and distances from the shore.

The Convention on the Continental Shelf adopted in 1958 grants sovereign rights to coastal states for the exploration and exploitation of the natural resources of the continental shelf. These rights do not affect the status of the waters above the shelf, which remain high seas open to navigation and fishing by other states. But the exploitation of the continental shelf may eventually affect freedom of navigation and the present limited jurisdiction might well be slowly extended to cover the waters above the shelf.

Unfortunately, the Continental Shelf Convention has two major deficiencies. It defines the continental shelf as beginning, in the legal sense, where the territorial sea ends, and this element will remain imprecise until there is international agreement on the breadth of the territorial sea. It defines the *outer* limits of the continental shelf as the point where the waters reach a depth of 200 metres or, beyond that point, where the depth of water permits exploitation of the underlying resources. By this inclusion of the "exploitability test", the legal definition of the continental shelf is a highly elastic one. An extreme interpretation of the Convention could easily lead to national confrontations and perhaps to a new sort of imperialism in the oceans.

Key Proposal by Malta

It was against this background, in 1967, that Malta introduced before the

United Nations General Assembly a proposal the implications of which, in the legal, political, economic and military fields, are so far-reaching that they will be the subject of intense study and debate for a long time to come.

The Maltese proposal called for the United Nations to undertake the "examination of the question of the reservation exclusively for peaceful purposes of the sea-bed and ocean-floor and the subsoil thereof, underlying the high seas beyond the limits of present national jurisdiction, and the use of their resources in the interests of mankind".

Canada was among the 35 countries on the original Committee set up by the General Assembly in 1967 to conduct this examination. We are also represented on the new 42-member Standing Committee on the Sea-bed, formed last October to continue the work.

Only a limited consensus has so far been reached on the sea-bed question. It is generally accepted that there is an area of the sea-bed beyond the present limits of national jurisdiction; that this area should be reserved for peaceful purposes; and that its resources should be used in the interests of mankind. However, these principles only point up the difficulties involved in reaching further agreement.

Limits of National Jurisdiction

On the question of the limits of national jurisdiction, the basic Canadian position has been that the continental shelf is a legal conception based on geographical and geological realities, and that these realities should be taken into account in defining the limits of national jurisdiction. On the legal rules which should govern the area of the sea-bed beyond national jurisdiction, we have argued that it is much too early to take a definitive stand. We are prepared to accept for the present, however, the widely shared view that the rules governing this area should prevent any form of national appropriation.

The principle that the resources of the sea-bed beyond the limits of national jurisdiction should be used in the interests of mankind obviously bears directly on the nature of the legal rules to be elaborated for this area. The UN resolution creating the Standing Committee on the Sea-bed qualifies this principle by referring to "the benefit of mankind as a whole, taking into account the special interests and needs of the developing countries". Does this mean that some part of the revenues from exploitation of the internationalized area of the sea-bed should be turned over to the United Nations for development aid and similar purposes? What would be the consequences of giving the United Nations this sort of independent income? How would such a scheme provide for a sufficient return from the investments required for the exploitation of the sea-bed? For the time being, the questions are more numerous than the answers.

All these questions will be studied by the Standing Committee on the Sea-bed. Deliberations on the reservation of the internationalized area of the sea-bed for exclusively peaceful purposes will also have to take place in the Eighteen-Nation Disarmament Committee.

As a country with one of the world's longest coastlines and with a continental shelf roughly equal to 40 per cent of its land area, Canada can understand and share the enthusiasm which has been generated by the Maltese item, particularly among the developing countries. Ocean space is man's last earthly frontier and we are anxious to join in the effort to isolate it from the arms race, to exploit it in an orderly and co-operative fashion, and to dedicate some part of its wealth to reducing the alarming gap between the rich and the poor nations of the world.

These examples of the progressive application of international law and legal skills to important problems confronting the world community as represented in the United Nations show that international law is far more than an instrument for the prevention of war. It is also a necessary instrument for the elimination of discrimination, for the protection of human rights, for the education of the ignorant and for relieving the oppressed. At the United Nations it continually fosters, in a realistic manner, the creative values which nations and peoples seek to fulfil domestically.

This is a field of international activity in which Canadians can make an invaluable contribution to the future of mankind if we are imaginative and diligent. I hope some of you will apply your talents to this endeavour.

CONFERENCES

- Interparliamentary Union, spring meetings of Interparliamentary Council: Vienna, April 7-13
- NATO spring ministerial meeting: Washington, April 10-11
- Economic Commission for Latin America, annual session : Lima, April 14-23
- North Atlantic Assembly, standing committee meeting: Washington, April 17-18
- Canada-Japan Ministerial Committee meeting: Tokyo, April 17-18
- UNCTAD Trade and Development Board, resumed eighth session: Geneva, May 5-17
- Commonwealth Parliamentary Association, Caribbean Regional Conference: Antigua, May 12-16
- Pan-American Institute of Geography and History, ninth general assembly: Mexico City, May 20 — June 20
- UNCTAD Trade and Development Board, ninth session: Geneva, August 23 — September 12
- Fourth International Agricultural Aviation Congress: Kingston, Ontario, August 25-29
- World Conference on Bird Hazards to Aircraft: Kingston, Ontario, September 2-5
- International Red Cross Conference, twenty-first session: Istanbul, September 13-16
- Commonwealth Conference on Speakers and Presiding Officers: Ottawa, September 8-12
- Association Internationale des Parlementaires de Langue française, second annual conference: Tunisia, September or October
- Commonwealth Parliamentary Association, general conference: Port-of-Spain, October 4-9
- Colombo Plan Consultative Committee: Victoria, B.C., October 14-21
- North Atlantic Assembly, fifteenth annual conference: Brussels, October 27-31
- Interparliamentary Union, fifty-seventh interparliamentary conference: New Delhi, October 30 — November 7

APPOINTMENTS, TRANSFERS AND RESIGNATIONS IN THE DEPARTMENT OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS AND FOREIGN SERVICE

- Mr. C. E. Campbell retired from the Public Service, effective December 16, 1968.
- Mr. P. C. Dobell resigned from the Department of External Affairs, effective January 17, 1969.
- Mr. L. A. Delvoie posted from the Canadian Embassy, Cairo, to Ottawa, effective January 29, 1969.
- Mr. G. Rejhon posted from Ottawa to the International Commission for Supervision and Control in Vietnam, effective January 30, 1969.
- Miss A. L. O'Connor posted from the Canadian Embassy, Tokyo, to Ottawa, effective January 31, 1969.
- Mr. R. J. Buchan appointed to the Department of External Affairs as Foreign Service Officer 3, effective February 1, 1969.
- Mr. P. E. Laberge posted from the International Commission for Supervision and Control in Vietnam to Ottawa, effective February 1, 1969.
- Mr. J. S. Hibbard posted from Ottawa to the Canadian Embassy, Cairo, effective February 4, 1969.
- Mr. R. W. MacLaren resigned from the Department of External Affairs, effective February 6, 1969.
- Miss J. Matthews posted from the Office of the High Commissioner for Canada, New Delhi, to the Canadian Embassy, Helsinki, effective February 8, 1969.
- Mr. C. J. Woodsworth, Canadian Ambassador to South Africa accredited concurrently Canadian Ambassador to Swaziland, effective February 10, 1969.
- Mr. R. A. Bell posted from Ottawa to the Canadian Embassy, Tokyo, effective February 12, 1969.
- Mr. D. W. Munro, Canadian Ambassador to Costa Rica, appointed concurrently Canadian Ambassador to El Salvador, effective February 14, 1969, and Canadian Ambassador to Honduras, effective February 19, 1969.
- Mr. J. A. Roberts, Canadian Ambassador to Switzerland, accredited concurrently Canadian Ambassador to Algiers, effective February 21, 1969.
- Miss S. M. Wise posted from the Office of the High Commissioner for Canada, Lagos, to Ottawa, effective February 24, 1969.
- Mr. J. G. Valiquette posted from Ottawa to the Delegation of Canada to the North Atlantic Council, Brussels, effective February 25, 1969.
- Mr. G. Ignatieff, Permanent Representative of Canada to the United Nations, New York, appointed Permanent Representative of Canada and Ambassador to the Conference of the Eighteen-Nation Committee on Disarmament, Geneva, effective February 25, 1969.
- Mr. L. A. K. James posted from the Office of the High Commissioner for Canada, Kuala Lumpur, to the International Commission for Supervision and Control in Vietnam effective February 28, 1969.
- Mr. M. F. Yalden resigned from the Department of External Affairs, effective February 28, 1969.
- Mr. J. C. L. Y. Beaulne, Canadian Ambassador to Brazil, appointed Permanent Representative and Ambassador of Canada to the United Nations, New York, effective February 28, 1969.

EXTERNAL AFFAIRS

*External Affairs is issued monthly in English and French by the
Department of External Affairs, Ottawa.*

*It provides reference material on Canada's external relations
and reports the current work and activities of the Department.*

Any material in this publication may be reproduced.

Citation of External Affairs as the source would be appreciated.

*Subscription rates: Canada, the United States and Mexico,
\$2.00 a year; other countries, \$2.50; students in Canada,
the United States and Mexico, \$1.00 a year; in other
countries, \$1.50. Subscriptions are sent post free.*

*Remittances, payable to the Receiver General of Canada,
should be sent to the Queen's Printer, Ottawa, Canada.*

*Authorized as Second Class Mail, Post Office Department,
Ottawa.*

Published by authority of
the Honourable Mitchell Sharp,
Secretary of State for External Affairs

Vol. XXI, No. 5

Contents

May 1969

Canada and the Pacific	194
Canada-Japan Ministerial Meeting	200
Visit of Australia's Prime Minister	204
The Twentieth Anniversary of NATO	206
North Atlantic Treaty Organization	207
A Defence Policy for Canada	214
Conference at Niamey	216
Visit of the Foreign Minister of West Germany	219
Mauritania and Canada	221
Senior United Nations Officials Visit Ottawa	224
Conferences	226
Appointments Transfers and Resignations in the Department of External Affairs and Foreign Service	227
Treaty Information	228

Canada and the Pacific

AN ADDRESS BY THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR EXTERNAL AFFAIRS,
THE HONOURABLE MITCHELL SHARP, TO THE FOREIGN CORRESPONDENTS'
CLUB, TOKYO, ON APRIL 15, 1969.

IT is four and a half years since I was last in Japan. That occasion was an earlier meeting of Japanese and Canadian ministers, which I attended as Minister of Finance. You did not ask me to speak to you then, possibly for fear I would talk about such unpleasant things as taxes and balance-of-payments problems and quotas and restraints. However necessary it may be on occasion to face up to such realities, I promise not to dwell on them today. I would prefer to talk about Canada and Japan and about Canada and the Pacific.

The Pacific

Here in Tokyo, one naturally thinks of the Pacific face of Canada. Large numbers of Canadians, however, have their foreign gaze firmly fixed eastward on Europe — when they are not preoccupied with events on our own North American continent and our very close and rather special relation with the United States. The origins of most of our people, our culture, our politics, our history, our exploration, our trade have all combined to weave Canada's destiny intimately into that of the great Atlantic community.

But this is not the whole story. Some of the earliest explorers pushed across the northern half of our sprawling continent in part to find the Pacific and another trade-route to Asia. It was not an easy task, and nature often imposed difficult barriers. One such natural obstacle was the rapids in the St. Lawrence River near what is today Montreal. They were named La Chine — China — as a testimony to the ultimate goal of those early explorers from France.

As our transcontinental nation was formed, and as the Western provinces of Canada grew and prospered, they began to look as naturally across the seas to the Orient and Australasia as the older provinces looked back across the Atlantic to Europe. The government policy-makers of the late nineteenth century hoped that Canada would become an essential link in forging new channels of commerce and communication between Europe and the nations of Asia and the Pacific. Trade — and missionaries — began to draw us in that direction too. The first Canadian trade commissioner arrived in Yokohama shortly after the First World War and one of Canada's first diplomatic mission abroad was established in Tokyo in 1929, one year after we established a legation in Paris, two years after we opened in Washington.

There is, therefore, a long history of Canadian interest in the Pacific countries, particularly Japan. But it was not until after the Second World War that Canadians as a whole became aware of the Pacific as they had been of the Atlantic — as a natural focus for our trading interests and for the definition of our international personality. This growing consciousness of the Pacific is attributable in economic terms to the amazing progress of Japan, to the continuing development of other countries on the “Pacific rim” and to the remarkable growth in the extractive and manufacturing industries of Western Canada. Over the past 30 years, developments in Asia have also brought home to Canadians as never before the realization that Canada is involved despite our apparent geographical remoteness. The upheaval in China following the Second World War, the Korean War, and more recently the Vietnam War, has prompted Canadians to be concerned with the way in which the world’s peace and security is affected by events in East and Southeast Asia. All this has led to a fresh recognition of the obvious fact that Canada is a Pacific as well as an Atlantic nation, and to a reassertion of this fact as a firm principle of our foreign policy.

I cannot tell you in precise terms how we propose to translate this general assertion into tangible policies. In our comprehensive review of Canada’s foreign policy, we have in this area of the world concentrated so far only on the question of China and have still to tackle the broader question of our relations with Asia and the Pacific at large. In any case, the evolution of foreign relations in a democratic and pluralistic society is to a great extent a natural and organic process, especially for a country such as Canada, which has neither the power nor the desire to impose solutions. In reformulating our relations with the Pacific community, we are dealing in many instances with forces which are beyond our capacity to control, and in this sense Canada’s role is responsive; I hope our part will be constructive and not without influence, but inevitably it will not be that of a prime mover. . . .

Japan

Foremost among the countries with which closer Canadian ties are being forged is Japan. In economic terms, this country has come to be of tremendous importance to Canada. Japan is at present our third-largest trading partner, competing for second place, and bilateral trade between Japan and Canada last year amounted to almost \$1 billion. We have traditionally been large-scale suppliers of the basic primary commodities required by the Japanese economy. But we are also anxious to secure a greater opportunity for our producers to compete with more highly processed products in the Japanese market, and we look to the disappearance of impediments, many of which are out of date in the Japanese economy of today, to our export trade in these goods and in agricultural products.

In the other direction, Canadian imports from Japan have, since the

conclusion of the first Canada-Japan Trade Agreement in 1954, increased more than sixteenfold. The vast majority of these imports are fully-manufactured goods, and there are times when sales of a few Japanese products occur at levels which cause disruption in the Canadian economy. We feel obliged to state our position frankly in such cases and we expect an understanding reaction from our Japanese friends. The healthy state of our relations and our shared interests is such that they can readily withstand these differences. There has also been a substantial increase in the amount of Japanese investment in Canada in recent years. We have noted with satisfaction Japanese participation in the development of natural resources in British Columbia and Alberta and we should welcome more Japanese investment, particularly in our manufacturing industries.

Important as these economic relations are, I should not want to leave the impression that they are the be-all and end-all of Canadian relations with Japan, or that the quality of our appreciation of each other as nations can best be measured by ringing up mutually-profitable sales, each on his own cash-register. This is far from being the case. Japan was a major exhibitor at Expo 67 in Montreal, on the occasion of Canada's centennial, and Canada was the first country to agree to be an exhibitor at Expo 70. In Osaka, Canada will be represented not only by the Federal Government's pavilion but also by the pavilions of three of our provinces — British Columbia, Ontario and Quebec. Visitors of all sorts — tourists, businessmen, officials, politicians — are moving in increasing numbers between Canada and Japan; some 15,000 Canadians came to Japan last year and many more are expected in 1970. Canadian students, scholars and artists come here to study the great cultural and artistic heritage of this ancient land. The Toronto Symphony Orchestra — conducted, I might note, by Seiji Ozawa, who has become famous in North America — is at present performing in Japan, the first such tour by a Canadian orchestra.

Our deepening relations in non-governmental fields, and the rapidly-growing importance of Japan as a world power, have as their natural concomitant an even closer political relation. Bilaterally in the current Ministerial Committee Meeting and in individual meetings with federal and provincial Canadian cabinet ministers, multilaterally in the close collaboration which exists between Japanese and Canadian delegations in all the major international organizations to which we both belong, we find ourselves exchanging ideas with the ease and frankness which reflects mutual respect and a broad similarity of approach to many problems. In the political field, our co-operation is particularly close in the United Nations and its agencies. In the economic field, it expresses itself especially in our mutual interest, as non-European powers, in the OECD and the GATT. Both of us have the U.S.A. as our chief trading partner and both of us are concerned lest the economic world of the developed countries become a U.S.-EEC dialogue.

China

In recent months, the Canadian Government has, as you know, undertaken a complete review of Canadian policy towards China. This is, in part, a reflection of our awareness of Canada as a Pacific nation, since no consideration of the area could be complete without close attention being paid to this vast country containing almost one-quarter of the world's population. The Canadian Government's plans stem from the public statement made on May 29, 1968, by our Prime Minister, Mr. Trudeau, to the effect that, if his Government was re-elected, it was his intention to open discussions leading to recognition of the Government in Peking. After several months of intensive study within our own administration and discussion with some interested governments, the decision was taken to have our Embassy in Stockholm approach the Chinese Embassy in that city with a proposal that we enter into substantive discussions. We have now had a Chinese reply to that approach and we hope that the discussions in which we are about to engage in Stockholm will lead in due course to the exchange of diplomatic missions.

Perhaps this would be an appropriate occasion to explain why, despite the reservations that have been frankly expressed to us by some friendly countries, we have come to the conclusion that it would be desirable for Canada to seek diplomatic relations with the People's Republic of China at this time.

Briefly, the reason is not unlike that offered by a distinguished mountaineer when asked why he continued to attempt the conquest of Mount Everest: "Because it is there!" The effective Government of China is, and has been for almost 20 years, the Government in Peking. For much of that time, Canada has been expanding and developing relations with China in a number of fields, and in some of them — particularly trade — our relations with China have become important to us. But if China is important to Canada, one has only to open a newspaper almost any day to appreciate that China has come to occupy an important, perhaps even critical, position in today's world. If a stable basis for peace in the world can be found, it is clear that China must participate in the finding. If Asian problems are to be solved, China must take part in their solution.

Given these facts, and the growing importance of China both to Canada and to the world, the question is not really "Why should Canada recognize Peking?" but "Why should Canada not seek diplomatic relations with the world's most populous nation?" In our view, the normal, logical and reasonable thing would be to have diplomatic relations with a country of such importance. However, since the issues involved are obviously highly controversial ones in the international community, it had been the position of the Canadian Government that it might be more appropriate for a country such as Canada to place first priority on a resolution of these problems in the context of the United Nations. In the absence of such a solution, it is now our best judgment that whatever uncertainties and disadvantages there may have been are unlikely to outweigh

the arguments for trying to normalize our relations with the People's Republic of China.

In the Canadian Parliament and elsewhere, I have, in the months since the Canadian Government's intentions with respect to China were first declared, been asked many questions on the position of Taiwan. I have not been able to give a great deal of satisfaction to my questioners in Canada in this respect and I am afraid I shall not be able to tell you a great deal either. Clearly, the nature of our relations with Taiwan must change if we enter into diplomatic relations with Peking, for one cannot maintain diplomatic relations with two regimes both claiming to speak for the same country. What exactly these subsequent relations might be I cannot say, for this does not depend on the decision of the Canadian Government only. As for the status of Taiwan, it would be presumptuous for the Canadian Government to pronounce upon it one way or the other. The status of Taiwan is essentially something for the Chinese to work out, for both Peking and Taipei now regard Taiwan as a province of China. As I said in the Canadian House of Commons, when we recognize other countries, we do not necessarily recognize all their territorial claims or challenge them and we have the same approach to Taiwan.

We are fully aware that the Government of Canada and the Government of Japan view the question of recognition of Communist China in a somewhat different light — and we recognize that our interests may well be different. We have, however, kept in close contact with the Japanese Government as our plans developed and have listened carefully to what they had to say. We shall continue to do so, and we hope that they understand the reasoning which has led us to this step.

Vietnam

Another major anchor-point in Canada's Asian-Pacific perspective is our presence as a member of the International Control Commissions in Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia. Nowhere in our foreign policy is our concern for the stability of Asia more manifest than in these peacekeeping commitments, which, when they were established 15 years ago, were pioneering ventures with few precedents if any, to guide them. In agreeing to undertake this assignment, Canada was furthering no national interest in the narrow definition of the term. Our hope was that we might be able to contribute to the process of re-establishing stability. Our continued participation in the Commissions reflects the interest of successive Canadian Governments in precisely the same objective. This commitment has not been an easy one. Measured in terms of foreign service manpower alone, an astonishing 34 per cent of the officer strength of my Department has served in one or more of the three Commissions. In this and other respects, our responsibilities in that part of the world have been enormously demanding. They have also been discouraging and disappointing and clearly devoid of the results intended. The dangerously expanding hostilities

of the sixties in Vietnam have demonstrated that the objective is as far from being met as it was 15 years ago. It may be even more remote, for it will take time for the passions of war to subside and the scars to be healed.

We hope the discussions now in progress in Paris are part of an irreversible process, the final outcome of which will be what Southeast Asia so badly needs — a stable and durable political settlement, fair to the legitimate interests of those involved, unjust to none and, above all, mutually acceptable to everyone. That may be a tall order. It is not unrealistic in the sense that anything short of an adequately-defined and workable political settlement would only invite a tragic repetition of the events which flowed from the basic flaws of the settlement made in Geneva 15 years ago. In the re-establishment of peace, and in ensuring that new political understandings are carried into effect, there may well be an important role for international guarantees and an international presence designed to moderate the situation and to help re-establish a working measure of confidence between those so recently in armed conflict. It is impossible to say at this stage whether Canada might make an effective contribution in such a context. Much would depend on whether we were asked to play such a part by all those directly involved. It would also depend on whether the tasks to be carried out, and the means available for doing so, gave such an assignment a realistic potential for a worthwhile contribution. I do not intend to sound unduly negative or pessimistic, or to imply that Canada is seeking to avoid all forms of commitment or involvement simply because they may prove frustrating or difficult. Far from it. What does concern me, however, is the need to avoid unproductive commitments which tend to freeze problems rather than help solve them.

Let me, in conclusion, take a brief look ahead at Asia and the Pacific as a whole. I foresee a Pacific area where what are at present the more economically-developed countries — the United States, Canada, Japan, Australia and New Zealand — will continue to expand trade among themselves and will also co-operate with the developing countries to encourage greater trade, investment and aid. Much of this will occur in the private sector, but, in so far as Canada is concerned, where government action is appropriate we intend to adopt a constructive approach which reflects our role as a Pacific nation. We have in Canada a long tradition of interest in the Pacific. The rapid economic development of Asia and the Pacific, the increasing understanding of its importance to world peace and stability and the greater awareness of Asia's contribution to the world's culture and civilization — all of these are combining to ensure a more active Canadian attention to this great area so that new links will be forged to add to the old ones for the greater benefit of all of us. And in this we look forward to the continued and increasing co-operation with Japan symbolized by the ministerial meetings which have brought my colleagues and me to Japan today.

Canada-Japan Ministerial Meeting

THE FIRST meeting of the Canada-Japan Ministerial Committee was held in Tokyo in January 1963; the Committee has met on four subsequent occasions, alternating between Tokyo and Ottawa. The fifth meeting took place in Tokyo on April 17 and 18, 1969. The Committee was established by the two governments in 1961 on the occasion of the visit to Canada of the Prime Minister of Japan, the late Hayato Ikeda, as a forum for the periodic exchange of views between ministers of the two countries on questions of common concern.

The Secretary of State for External Affairs, the Honourable Mitchell Sharp, in tabling in the House of Commons on April 21 the joint communiqué issued at the end of the fifth meeting, spoke as follows :

"This Ministerial Committee is not a negotiating body but rather a means whereby ministers from the two countries can from time to time exchange views on the full range of bilateral relations between Canada and Japan, as well as on the international situation. The fact that Japan is Canada's third largest trading partner, now competing for second place, is in itself sufficient reason for periodic and high-level discussions between Canadian ministers and their



Canada's Secretary of State for External Affairs Mitchell Sharp (right) chats with Japan's Prime Minister Eisaku Sato at Mr. Sato's residence in Tokyo.

Japanese counterparts. The need for and the utility of these meetings is enhanced by the increasingly close co-operation between Canada and Japan in political and other fields, both bilaterally and in all the major international organizations to which we both belong. Most of all, however, the meetings form an important part of Canada's role as a Pacific as well as an Atlantic country, and they also reflect the growing Canadian activities throughout the Pacific area.

"I have taken part in three meetings of this Committee in different capacities and, in my view, the one just completed is the most useful to date, in large part due to the increasing easiness of discussions over a broad range of subjects. This is not to suggest that we found a complete identity of views with the Japanese. We did not, and where we differed we both made clear where our differences lay. On bilateral matters, for example, as you will see from the communiqué, the Canadian ministers spoke with some vigour about certain Japanese trade restrictions which are causing difficulties for some Canadian exports. But one advantage of these meetings is to enable ministers to speak directly with their Japanese opposite numbers on matters which are of great concern to Canada."

Text of Joint Communiqué

The fifth meeting of the Canada-Japan Ministerial Committee was held at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Tokyo, on April 17 and 18, 1969. Japan was represented by the Honourable Kiichi Aichi, Minister for Foreign Affairs, the Honourable Takeo Fukuda, Minister of Finance, the Honourable Shiro Hasegawa, Minister of Agriculture and Forestry, the Honourable Masayoshi Ohira, Minister of International Trade and Industry, the Honourable Wataro Kanno, Minister of State and Director-General for Economic Planning, and Mr. Osamu Itagaki, Ambassador to Canada. Canada was represented by the Honourable Mitchell Sharp, Secretary of State for External Affairs, the Honourable Edgar J. Benson, Minister of Finance, the Honourable Jean-Luc Pepin, Minister of Industry, Trade and Commerce, the Honourable Jack Davis, Minister of Fisheries and Forestry, the Honourable Horace A. Olson, Minister of Agriculture, and Mr. Herbert O. Moran, Ambassador to Japan.

The ministers reviewed the general international situation with emphasis on the situation in Asia, including Vietnam and China. The ministers expressed their concern over the continuation of the Vietnam conflict, and strongly hoped that the talks now being held in Paris would promptly lead to a peaceful settlement of the problem. The ministers also recognized that, after peace is restored in Vietnam, the broadest possible international co-operation would be needed to secure the peace and attain the prosperity of this region, and agreed that the two countries would continue to consult closely with each other on the possible role they might play for this purpose. Recognizing that the peace and prosperity of Asia have an important bearing on the peace and prosperity of the entire

world, they agreed that the individual and co-operative efforts of developing Asian nations to improve their well-being need to be complemented by economic and technical assistance from the advanced countries. In this regard, Canada and Japan will spare no effort further to strengthen the close consultation and co-operation already existing between the two countries through organizations such as the ADB.

While welcoming the conclusion of the nuclear non-proliferation treaty as an important step towards nuclear disarmament, the ministers expressed their concern about the continuation of the arms race and urged the major powers and the Eighteen-Nation Disarmament Committee to renew their efforts to reverse this trend both through bilateral and multilateral negotiations.

In their review of the economic situations of Japan and Canada, the Committee noted with satisfaction that the Japanese and Canadian economies continue to expand steadily, although measures to attain price stability remain necessary in both countries.

They also discussed the international financial situation. They agreed that the early activation of the system of special drawing rights would contribute substantially to the necessary strengthening of the international monetary system.

The Committee discussed major developments in international trade, including East-West trade. In noting that the implementation of the tariff reductions of the Kennedy Round was proceeding on schedule, the Committee emphasized the importance of full implementation of all the results of the negotiations and the need to maintain momentum leading towards further international liberalization of all barriers to trade in both industrial and agricultural products. The Committee reaffirmed the importance each of the two countries attaches to the International Grains Arrangement, which is in the interests of both importing and exporting countries. The Committee expressed concern about protectionist moves which would frustrate efforts for freer trade. The Committee also reviewed the role which export credits and financing play in international trade.

The ministers discussed the expansion of their respective development assistance programmes which is envisaged. The Committee took note of the importance of the development and prosperity of Asia. In emphasizing the importance they attach to economic progress in the developing world, the ministers recognized that, in the trade field, an early implementation of the general preferential tariff system is desirable. They agreed that the two governments should continue their co-operation leading toward such a system, in which the burden of adjustment should be equitably shared among the developed countries.

The Committee noted the continuing increase in Canadian-Japanese trade since their last meeting and recorded their expectation that, with increasingly close economic relations, this trade expansion would continue. Canadian ministers expressed their strong interest in diversifying Canadian exports, which are heavily concentrated in primary foodstuffs and industrial raw materials. While welcoming the Japanese Government's announcement of plans for the gradual elimination

of import restrictions, they urged Japanese ministers to take careful and early account of the Canadian interest in liberalization of particular products now under restriction. The Committee reviewed the voluntary restraints placed on the export of some Japanese products to Canada. Japanese ministers expressed their views that these restraints should be kept to the minimum and be removed as soon as possible. The Committee then examined the new Canadian anti-dumping and related legislation.

The Committee recognized that trade flows can be enhanced by capital investment and noted the useful role it has played in the trade between Canada and Japan. Canadian ministers stressed the importance of early and more extensive liberalization of capital investment in Japan.

The ministers explored common interests in the agricultural field and in particular the possibilities for expanding trade in agricultural products and increasing technical co-operation and liaison between Canada and Japan in this field. The Ministers discussed problems related to Pacific fisheries, including co-operation in measures of conservation, and agreed to give further consideration to other fishery matters of bilateral concern such as scientific and technical co-operation in the utilization of resources.

The Committee welcomed the growing co-operation and exchanges between the two countries in many fields, such as the current tour of Japan by the Toronto Symphony Orchestra. The ministers expressed interest in further cultural exchanges. Moreover, the Canadian ministers indicated the desirability of closer scientific and technological links, which would reinforce and broaden relations between Canada and Japan, and the Japanese ministers noted that the matter would be studied in detail.

In the course of their stay in Japan, Canadian ministers, at the invitation of the Japanese Government, visited the site of Expo 70 at Osaka, where Canada and the Provinces of British Columbia, Ontario and Quebec will have pavilions. Canadian ministers extended their best wishes for the success of Expo 70 and Japanese ministers thanked Canada for its extensive participation and co-operation.

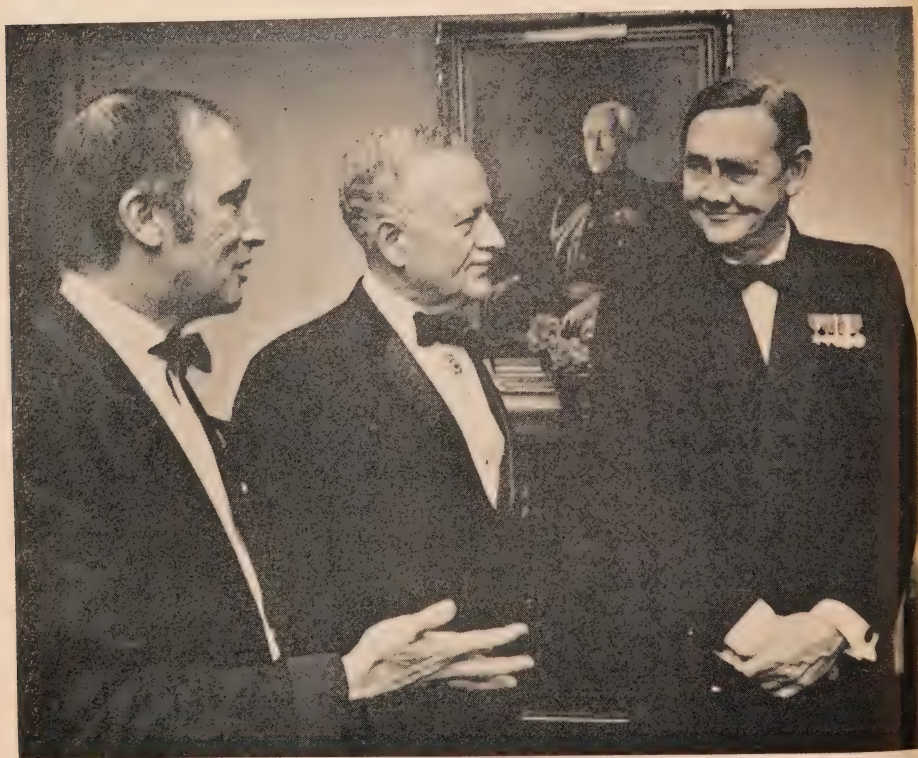
The programme of the Ministerial Committee included separate meetings between Japanese and Canadian ministers with corresponding portfolios, at which detailed discussions took place on questions of mutual interest.

The ministers agreed that the fifth meeting of the Committee had proved useful in providing for exchange of views between the two sides on many matters of mutual concern and had thereby contributed to the increasingly close relations between Japan and Canada. The Committee accepted the invitation of the Canadian Government to hold its next meeting in Canada.

Visit of Australia's Prime Minister

AN OFFICIAL visit was paid to Ottawa from April 2 to 4, 1969, by the Right Honourable John G. Gorton, Prime Minister of Australia, accompanied by Mrs. Gorton and senior Australian officials. Mr. Gorton came to Canada from Washington, where he had represented his country at the funeral of former President Dwight D. Eisenhower and had conferred with senior officials of the United States Government.

During his stay in Ottawa, Mr. Gorton was able to renew his acquaintance with Prime Minister Trudeau, begun during the Commonwealth prime ministers' conference in January, and to meet several other members of the Canadian Cabinet. Prime Minister and Mrs. Gorton were guests of the Governor General and Mrs. Michener at Government House. On the evening of their arrival, Prime Minister Trudeau gave a dinner in their honour and the following evening the visitors were guests of honour at a dinner given by Governor-General and



(Canadian Press)

Governor-General Roland Michener (centre) in conversation at Government House with Prime Minister John G. Gorton (right) and Prime Minister Pierre Elliott Trudeau.

Mrs. Michener. Next day they attended a reception given by the Australian High Commissioner, Sir Kenneth Bailey, and Lady Bailey.

A Round of Talks

On April 3, Prime Minister Gorton and Prime Minister Trudeau had talks in the morning and again in the afternoon. Following the morning talks, Mr. Gorton was present briefly at a meeting of the Canadian Cabinet. Later, he held discussions with the Honourable Mitchell Sharp, Secretary of State for External Affairs, the Honourable Edgar Benson, Minister of Finance, and the Honourable Jean-Luc Pepin, Minister of Industry, Trade and Commerce, who was planning to visit Australia at the end of the month. The exchanges of views between the two heads of government and other ministers covered a wide range of subjects of mutual interest, including such matters as wheat prices under the International Grains Agreement, Vietnam, the recognition of mainland China and matters affecting the relations of Australia and Canada with countries of the "Pacific rim". The discussions served to underline the interest of both governments in the affairs of nations bordering the Pacific and in their relations with one another, which are traditionally close and friendly.

On the morning of April 3, Mrs. Gorton was given a preview tour of the National Arts Centre, which is to be formally opened by Prime Minister Trudeau on May 31.

Prime Minister and Mrs. Gorton left Ottawa on April 4 to return to Canberra *via* Toronto and Vancouver.

The Twentieth Anniversary of NATO

A MESSAGE FROM THE SECRETARY-GENERAL

NATO's twentieth anniversary would indeed be incomplete without a salute to the far-sighted part taken by Canadian statesmen during the discussions which culminated in the North Atlantic Treaty. Even before the negotiations began, as far back as 1947, the seed of the alliance was sewn when Mr. St. Laurent, then Secretary of State for External Affairs, voiced before the United Nations the concern of peace-loving nations at the inability of the Security Council to ensure their protection.

To this basic consideration Canadian negotiators added others of a social, economic and scientific kind which — readily welcomed by other nations — ensured from the outset that NATO would be totally different from the customary military coalition.

In view of these origins, it is logical that governments would not limit NATO to security questions and that it would be given increasing responsibilities for political consultation, and for far-reaching discussions on matters pertaining to arms control, scientific and even economic co-operation.

It would be exaggerated to think that political consultation in NATO can bring quick solutions, and it must be remembered that the extent of co-ordination possible is limited by the sovereign independence of each member. But with these provisos, our consultation today — in which East-West relations are the central permanent topic — reaches to any part of the globe where situations prevail that may have a bearing on the security of the alliance. Essentially, the purpose of this consultation is, by keeping the allies on parallel courses, to further the solution of outstanding problems in a manner consistent with our own security. In this context, we have recently accelerated and deepened our study of disarmament in all its aspects, including arms control and balanced force reductions, and we have publicly intimated our willingness to discuss these questions with the East. On this offer, despite caution induced by recent Soviet actions in Europe and the Mediterranean, our position remains unchanged.

Many flattering claims (and they are not entirely unjustified) have been made for our alliance. In viewing the approach to the third decade, we should be, in my view, wise to eschew euphoria. While there are hopeful signs, the position in Europe presents also great risks. This means that the mission of the alliance is not concluded. NATO has proved itself to be a flexible instrument, capable of adaptation to changing circumstances. Provided that we can continually rethink and modify our tactics in the light of events as they arise, the alliance will be able, I am sure, to fulfill the role assigned to it by its members as an organ of collective decision-making and security working for peace.

North Atlantic Treaty Organization

MINISTERIAL MEETING, WASHINGTON, D.C., APRIL 1969

The following statement was made on April 10 to the NATO Council by the Canadian Secretary of State for External Affairs, the Honourable Mitchell Sharp :

Although we are today commemorating an important event in history, the emphasis of our discussions will be on the alliance's future rather than its past. This is as it should be. The merits of the role which the alliance has played as a stabilizing influence in Europe and in maintaining the peace over the past two decades are not in question. What matters now is how NATO can continue to play a positive and constructive role in the circumstances that will confront it in the 1970s. We must now decide the way in which we should conduct our relations with the U.S.S.R. and its allies in the circumstances created by the Russian invasion of Czechoslovakia.

The West must continue to search for the kind of relations with the East that could provide the basis for solving outstanding problems. There may be risks in this approach, and there certainly will be setbacks, such as the events of last August and their aftermath. The task is to find the delicate balance between encouraging the development of contacts with the East and appearing to condone the use of force as exemplified by the U.S.S.R.'s actions in Czechoslovakia. It must be made plain to the U.S.S.R. that such repressive actions can only undermine the mutual confidence necessary for the development of better relations. Recognizing the difficulties and dangers, the Canadian Government, in consultation with its alliance partners, is prepared to join in a policy of gradual renewal of contacts with the U.S.S.R. and its Warsaw Pact allies. Our alliance should also be prepared to explore thoroughly the possibilities raised by the reference to a European security conference contained in the communiqué of the Warsaw Pact meeting in Budapest on March 17.

With other members of the alliance, we welcome the U.S. Administration's intention to move from confrontation toward negotiation with the U.S.S.R., and to consult the other members of the alliance, both prior to and during these negotiations.

Arms Limitation

One of the most important matters to be negotiated with the U.S.S.R. is the limitation of offensive and defensive strategic arms. Success in the talks on the limitation of strategic arms could prove to be a historical turning-point. The expected improvement in the international atmosphere could facilitate progress in negotiations on other subjects. As for the maintenance of alliance security,

we in Canada accept the general proposition that the overall capacity of the alliance to deter possible Soviet aggression must be maintained at an appropriate level through the provision of conventional and nuclear forces. In the course of our defence policy review, however, and in the planning of our general defence posture, we have come to the conclusion that present circumstances and capabilities within the alliance permit some relocation of our forces and warrant early steps to bring about a planned and phased reduction in the size of Canadian forces stationed in Europe.

Western Europe's economic recovery has been one of the important factors leading us to this conclusion. Just as efforts of the alliance in Europe contribute to the security of North America, so defence efforts in North America contribute to the security of Europe. In North America, Canada makes an essential contribution to the alliance by co-operating with the U.S.A. in the protection of the deterrent on which the security of the whole alliance is based.

Apart from these considerations, we in Canada face very special circumstances. We are still engaged in the development of much of our potential and must devote a large part of our resources to the nation-building that will, in the coming years, enhance our capacity to contribute to the maintenance of peace. Canada is a very large country, more than three times the size of all the European states in NATO, with a relatively small population, and much of our infrastructure is yet to be built. We face particular problems in the surveillance of our vast territory — land, sea and air.

Consultation with Allies

One aspect of our recent decision should be emphasized — our commitment to consult with our allies in carrying out the decision we have announced. We intend to begin this consultation at ministerial level at the meeting of the Defence Planning Committee in May. Our purpose will be to take account of the various factors which our allies may wish to bring to our attention as plans are made regarding the nature and the timing of the reduction of our forces in Europe which has now been decided on in principle, and the extent and location of Canada's continuing military contribution to NATO. As we proceed, the Canadian Government's actions will also, of course, take account of any international developments which may have a bearing on the balance of security in Europe and elsewhere.

China must now be taken into account when we consider situations in any corner of the globe. We have reached the stage where none of the big questions — *détente*, arms control, narrowing the gap between rich and poor, building a stable world society, and ensuring world peace — can be solved without having regard for the Chinese quarter of mankind. There are no easy answers to the problems of dealing with China, or of bringing it to play a more constructive role in the international community. My Government believes that a solution must involve broadening the scope and direction of China's contacts with the other

nations of the world. It is for this reason that our Government has taken the initiative to explore with Peking the possibility of establishing diplomatic relations.

Finally, if NATO is to continue to enjoy in the future the success it has achieved in the past, and, more particularly, if it is to gain the support of the rising generation, it should be prepared to concern itself with major world problems other than those of security and political accommodation between East and West. For example, it has been suggested that NATO might provide a useful forum for discussions of the problems of modern societies and the relation between the East-West conflict and the disparities between North and South. Settlement of East-West questions must necessarily have some priority. It is only when the developed countries of the Northern Hemisphere have freed themselves of mutual fear and mistrust that their enormous energies and resources can be applied in significant amounts to the problems of the developing world.

On April 14, the Minister of National Defence, the Honourable Léo Cadieux, made the following report on the NATO Council meeting to the House of Commons in Ottawa :

Part of the Washington meeting was devoted to commemorating NATO's twentieth anniversary, but the ministers showed little inclination to dwell on the past accomplishments of the alliance. Their attention was focused instead on problems of the future, both immediate and long-term. The immediate issue was to decide how to get on with the resolution of East-West problems. Soviet intervention in Czechoslovakia had set back hopes for improving East-West relations, but there was agreement in Washington that a continuing dialogue between the members of NATO and the Warsaw Pact was the only rational course. NATO's 15 member governments therefore agreed on a policy of gradually renewing contacts with the Warsaw Pact countries and of exploring all possibilities for negotiations that might help resolve their outstanding differences with the East.

Security Conference Proposal

The ministers discussed at some length the proposal for a European security conference contained in the communiqué issued by the Warsaw Pact in Budapest on March 17. The conclusion was that a European security conference as conceived in the Budapest declaration posed serious difficulties, because the proposed terms of reference called for recognizing the continued division of Germany and existing borders in Central Europe. To accept in advance the Communist position on these issues would clearly prejudice the outcome of the conference. A number of the delegations in Washington, including that of Canada, considered that, if the East was not seriously interested in the possibility of holding a European security conference, they might be prepared to accept realistic terms of reference. The NATO ministers agreed that steps should be taken to test thoroughly the intentions of the Eastern European countries, particularly on issues which might

be negotiable. There was general agreement that, if a conference was held, it should include both the U.S.A. and Canada.

At the Washington meeting, a significant new dimension was added to the ministers' discussions. It was the question of what the members of the alliance might do collectively to assist in the search for solutions of the social problems facing modern societies and in the attempt to close the gap between the prosperous developed countries and those of the developing world. It was acknowledged that many aspects of these questions were already being considered in other international bodies, but there was a general disposition to see if NATO could help to find new and better ways of sharing views and experiences on them.

East-West Relations

The Canadian delegation's principal aim was to ensure that NATO would use to the full its capacity to contribute to the early improvement of East-West relations. The paper on East-West relations which the ministers had before them was based on a Canadian draft, and its conclusions were largely reflected in the results of the meeting. In the main Canadian statement, which was delivered by the Secretary of State for External Affairs, emphasis was placed not only on East-West relations generally but on the importance we attached to the early initiation of talks between the U.S.A. and the Soviet Union on the limitation of offensive and defensive strategic nuclear weapons. Mr. Sharp also expressed our hope that, once begun, these talks would be pursued, despite any temporary setbacks on other fronts. He joined other spokesmen in welcoming the U.S. Government's willingness to enter into bilateral negotiations with the U.S.S.R. on a number of world problems, including the limitation of nuclear arms, and the U.S. pledge to consult its partners as these negotiations progress.

Relations with China

The Secretary of State for External Affairs underlined the importance which Canada attached to including China in any attempts to settle major world problems. He informed the meeting of the steps taken thus far toward establishing diplomatic relations with the Peking Government and said that we had now had a response from the Chinese indicating their willingness to enter into substantive discussions. These will be taking place in Stockholm between the two embassies, with our Embassy reinforced as necessary by sending officials from Ottawa. The expectation is that these discussions will get under way in about a month's time. There is no indication of how long these discussions will take. We are anxious for them to succeed, but they will be essentially confidential and are not likely to be helped if carried out under the glare of constant publicity. The Secretary of State for External Affairs and I used the occasion of the meeting to explain to our allies the outcome of our defence policy review as it will affect our approach to NATO in the future. We confirmed Canada's intention to remain in the alliance and informed the members of the decision to embark on a planned

and phased reduction of the size of the Canadian forces now stationed in Europe. We explained that, in carrying out this decision, the Government intended to consult closely with Canada's allies. The purpose of consultation would be to enable us to take account of the views of our allies as plans were made regarding the nature and the timing of the reduction of our forces in Europe and the extent and location of Canada's continuing military contribution to NATO. The Secretary of State for External Affairs stated that account would also be taken of any international developments which might have a bearing on the balance of security in Europe and elsewhere.

A number of the ministers referred specifically to Canada's recent decision. While they welcomed our intention to remain in the alliance, they expressed the hope that the decision to reduce our forces in Europe would not be carried out in such a way as to jeopardize the security of the alliance or the prospects for East-West negotiations. With these considerations in mind, they welcomed our undertaking to consult them on our plans.

Final Communiqué

The North Atlantic Council met in ministerial session in Washington on April 10 and 11, 1969. The Council commemorated the twentieth anniversary of the treaty creating the alliance and was addressed by the President of the United States. Ministers expressed their deep satisfaction at the decisive contribution the alliance had made to the maintenance of peace in Europe and to the security of all its members.

The alliance was established to safeguard the freedom, common heritage and civilization of its peoples, founded on the principles of democracy, individual liberty and the rule of law, and in response to a common fear that, without an effective security system, another war might erupt in a divided Europe. The alliance continues as the expression of common purposes and aspirations.

In 1967 the Report on the Future Tasks of the Alliance emphasized the dual task of the latter: the defence of the West and the search for a stable peace with the East. In June 1968, allied ministers declared their readiness to seek, with the other states concerned, specific practical measures for disarmament and arms control, including possible measures for mutual and balanced force reductions. Notwithstanding the serious setback to hopes for improvement in East-West relations as a result of Soviet intervention in Czechoslovakia, ministers, in November 1968, stated that secure, peaceful and mutually beneficial relations between East and West remained the political goal of the allies. They reaffirmed at this session that the intention of their governments was to continue the search for real progress towards this objective by contacts and to explore all appropriate openings for negotiations.

Bearing especially in mind the situation in Eastern Europe, member governments recall that any lasting improvement in international relations presupposes

full respect for the principles of the independence and territorial integrity of states, non-interference in their domestic affairs, the right of each people to shape its own future, and the obligation to refrain from the threat or use of force.

Ministers recalled that one of the essential aims of the alliance is the establishment of a just and lasting peace in Europe, based on stability, security and mutual confidence. The allies propose, while remaining in close consultation, to explore with the Soviet Union and the other countries of Eastern Europe which concrete issues best lend themselves to fruitful negotiation and an early resolution. Consequently, they instructed the Council to draft a list of these issues and to study how a useful process of negotiation could best be initiated, in due course, and to draw up a report for the next meeting of ministers. It is clear that any negotiations must be well prepared in advance, and that all governments whose participation would be necessary to achieve a political settlement in Europe should take part.

The allies will also pursue their efforts and studies in the field of disarmament and practical arms control, including balanced force reductions and the initiatives already undertaken for the renunciation of the use of force.

The political solidarity of the alliance constitutes an essential element while approaching a period of expanding East-West contacts and possible negotiations. This solidarity can best be maintained by strict adherence to the principle of full consultation in the Council both before and during any negotiations that might affect the interests of the alliance or any of its members. On this understanding, the allied governments welcome the intention of the United States to engage the U.S.S.R. in discussion of limitations on offensive and defensive strategic arms.

The allies participating in the NATO integrated defence programme agreed that it was extremely important that during an era of negotiation the defence posture of the alliance should not be relaxed and that premature expectations of solutions to outstanding questions should not be generated. The maintenance of effective defence is a stabilizing factor and a necessary condition for effective détente policies.

Accordingly, these members of the alliance reaffirmed their continuing determination to make appropriate contributions to joint efforts for defence and deterrence at all levels both nuclear and conventional. They accepted the continuing need for the current NATO strategy based on a forward defence and appropriate response to any aggression, and for a credible conventional and nuclear deterrent including adequate overall and local force levels. The necessary military posture of the alliance consists of the strategic nuclear deterrent forces, the presence of sufficient substantial and effective North American and European conventional forces, as well as supporting tactical nuclear forces in the European area and adequate ready reinforcements.

Defence ministers will meet on May 28, 1969, and will examine the more specific elements in the defence posture necessary to fulfil the above requirements.

They will also examine the possibility of improving the efficiency of the defence effort by intensifying mutual and co-operative approaches to, for example, the problems of arms production and arms standardization either among all allied nations or between some of them.

Reviewing the situation in Berlin, the ministers noted that obstacles have recently been placed on freedom of access to Berlin. Such obstructions cannot be accepted. The ministers supported the determination of the three powers to maintain free access to the city, and recalled the declaration of the North Atlantic Council of December 16, 1958, and the responsibilities which each member state assumed with regard to the security and welfare of Berlin.

The ministers consider that the achievement of a peaceful European settlement presupposes, among other things, progress towards eliminating existing sources of tension in the centre of Europe. They consider that concrete measures aimed at improving the situation in Berlin, safeguarding free access to the city, and removing restrictions which affect traffic and communications between the two parts of Germany would be a substantial contribution toward this objective. They expressed their support for continued efforts by the three powers to explore, in the framework of their special responsibilities for Berlin and Germany as a whole, possibilities for ordered and negotiated progress in these important questions.

A peaceful solution must be found for the German question based on the free decision of the German people and on the interests of European security.

The members of the alliance are conscious that they share common environmental problems which, unless squarely faced, could imperil the welfare and progress of their societies. The ministers recognize that important work on these problems is already being carried out within other international organizations. The ministers instructed the Council in permanent session to examine how to improve, in every practical way, the exchange of views and experience among the allied countries, whether by action in the appropriate international organizations or otherwise, in the task of creating a better environment for their societies.

While concerned with these problems, ministers are also mindful that the allied countries are entering an era in which scientific, technical and economic resources should contribute to the peaceful progress and development of all nations.

Apart from regular meetings at ministerial level, ministers agreed that the Council in permanent session should consider the proposal that high officials of their foreign ministries meet periodically for a review of major, long-range problems before the alliance.

The next ministerial session of the North Atlantic Council will be held in Brussels in December 1969.

A Defence Policy for Canada

A STATEMENT TO THE PRESS ON APRIL 3, 1969, BY PRIME MINISTER

PIERRE ELLIOTT TRUDEAU

A CANADIAN defence policy, employing in an effective fashion the highly skilled and professional Canadian Armed Forces, will contribute to the maintenance of world peace. It will also add to our own sense of purpose as a nation and give renewed enthusiasm and a feeling of direction to the members of the armed forces. It will provide the key to the flexible employment of Canadian forces in a way which will permit them to make their best contribution in accordance with Canada's particular needs and requirements.

The Government has rejected any suggestion that Canada assume a non-aligned or neutral role in world affairs. Such an option would have meant the withdrawal by Canada from its present alliances and the termination of all co-operative military arrangements with other countries. We have decided in this fashion because we think it necessary and wise to continue to participate in an appropriate way in collective security arrangements with other states in the interests of Canada's national security and in defence of the values we share with our friends.

Canada requires armed forces within Canada in order to carry out a wide range of activities involving the defence of the country, and also supplementing the civil authorities and contributing to national development. Properly equipped and deployed, our forces will provide an effective multi-purpose maritime coastal shield and they will carry out operations necessary for the defence of North American airspace in co-operation with the United States. Abroad, our forces will be capable of playing important roles in collective security and in peacekeeping activities.

The structure, equipment and training of our forces must be compatible with these roles, and it is the intention of the Government that they shall be. Our eventual forces will be highly mobile and will be the best-equipped and best-trained forces of their kind in the world.

The precise military role which we shall endeavour to assume in these collective arrangements will be a matter for discussion and consultation with our allies and will depend in part on the role assigned to Canadian forces in the surveillance of our own territory and coast-lines in the interests of protecting our own sovereignty. As a responsible member of the international community, it is our desire to have forces available for peacekeeping roles as well as for participation in defensive alliances.

Canada is a partner in two collective defence arrangements which, though distinct, are complementary. These are the North Atlantic Treaty Organization

and the North American Air Defence Command. For 20 years NATO has contributed to the maintenance of world peace through its stabilizing influence in Europe. NATO continues to contribute to peace by reducing the likelihood of a major conflict breaking out in Europe, where, because the vital interests of the two major powers are involved, any outbreak of hostilities could easily escalate into a war of world proportions. At the same time, it is the declared aim of NATO to foster improvements in East-West relations.

NATO itself is continuously reassessing the role it plays in the light of changing world conditions. Perhaps the major development affecting NATO in Europe since the Organization was founded is the magnificent recovery of the economic strength of Western Europe. There has been a very great change in the ability of European countries themselves to provide necessary conventional defence forces and armaments to be deployed by the alliance in Europe.

It was, therefore, in our view, entirely appropriate for Canada to review and re-examine the necessity in present circumstances for maintaining Canadian forces in Western Europe. Canadian forces are now committed to NATO until the end of the present year. The Canadian force commitment for deployment with NATO in Europe beyond this period will be discussed with our allies at the meeting of the Defence Planning Committee of NATO in May. The Canadian Government intends, in consultation with Canada's allies, to take early steps to bring about a planned and phased reduction of the size of the Canadian forces in Europe.

We intend, as well, to continue to co-operate effectively with the United States in the defence of North America. We shall, accordingly, seek early occasions for detailed discussions with the United States Government of the whole range of problems involved in our mutual co-operation in defence matters on this continent. To the extent that it is feasible, we shall endeavour to have those activities within Canada which are essential to North American defence performed by Canadian forces.

In summary, Canada will continue to be a member of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization and to co-operate closely with the United States within NORAD, and in other ways, in defensive arrangements. We shall maintain appropriate defence forces, which will be designed to undertake the following roles:

- (a) the surveillance of our own territory and coast-lines, i.e., the protection of our sovereignty;
- (b) the defence of North America in co-operation with United States forces;
- (c) the fulfilment of such NATO commitments as may be agreed upon; and
- (d) the performance of such international peacekeeping roles as we may, from time to time, assume.

The kind of forces and armaments most suitable for these roles is now being assessed in greater detail in preparation for discussion with our allies.

Conference at Niamey

THE first international conference of the French-speaking or partly French-speaking countries of the world took place at Niamey, Niger, from February 17 to 20, 1969. About 30 countries were represented — that is, virtually every country where French is a national, official or working language. Several private *francophone* organizations also attended. Canada was represented by a strong delegation led by the Honourable Gérard Pelletier, Secretary of State for Canada. The list of Canadian representatives included: for the Province of Quebec, the Honourable Marcel Masse; for New Brunswick, Mr. Armand St. Onge; and for Ontario, Mr. Jean-Marc Tessier.

The aim of the conference was to study the appropriateness of setting up an agency for cultural and technical co-operation among the French-speaking countries of the world. After studying a draft project, the conference adopted a final resolution that provided, among other things, for the immediate creation of a provisional General Secretariat whose function would be to prepare draft



Canadian delegation to the Niamey conference of French-speaking nations: front row (left to right) — Mr. Marcel Masse, Minister without Portfolio in the Quebec government responsible for the public service; the Secretary of State for Canada and leader of the delegation, Mr. Gérard Pelletier. In the second row, to the left of the delegate of France seated behind his country's place-marker, are Mr. Armand St.-Onge, Deputy Minister of Education of New Brunswick, and Mr. Jean-Marc Tessier, Assistant Director of Curricula for the Ontario Department of Education.

statutes for the agency and to formulate concrete proposals for the putting into practice of multilateral development programmes among the French-speaking countries. Upon completion of this preparatory study, the acting Secretary-General, Mr. Jean-Marc Léger, well-known Montreal newspaperman, is to submit, within six months of his appointment, to President Diori of Niger a detailed report containing his recommendations on the best means of setting up the proposed agency.

Speaking for Canada, Mr. Pelletier said:

"For all the French-speaking people in our country, participation in the French-speaking world that is at present being organized is not only natural but represents a vital need. After three centuries of French life in North America, French-Canadians feel they need the solidarity of the whole French-speaking world in order to attain their rightful development. This is true . . . for Quebec, the home *par excellence* of French culture in Canada. It is also true — even more so — in the case of the minorities in the other provinces of Canada, some of which are represented here — especially Ontario, which has more than 600,000 French-speaking people, and New Brunswick, whose French-speaking population is 250,000, representing about 40 per cent of the total population of that province.

"... This co-operation (with the *francophone* African countries) still concerns to a considerable degree exchanges in the realm of technical assistance. Working with the Canadian provinces, and especially with Quebec, the Canadian International Development Agency places at the disposal of all the French-speaking countries of Africa more than 300 teachers each year. Recently however, especially since the visit the Honourable Lionel Chevrier paid last year to this and other African countries, our programme of co-operation with the French-speaking African countries has experienced an expansion that seeks to match the importance we attach to our collaboration with them. From the \$300,000 recorded at the outset, the annual budget of this programme will soon have increased to nearly \$30 million, and is destined to increase during the coming years, as our experience in mutual co-operation becomes better defined. I think I can say, without fear of being mistaken, that the amounts to be devoted within a few years to the development of French-speaking Africa could be tripled, or even better. To do this, the Canadian Government intends to work in close co-operation with the interested provinces, especially Quebec, which has afforded us such valuable aid so far.

"... Today we are gathered mainly to study together a formula for multilateral co-operation in the technical and cultural fields. For this purpose OCAM⁽¹⁾ has just submitted to us a document that faithfully reflects our determination to reinforce the ties that already unite us. While realizing that the project embraces many sectors and activities, I can assure you that, for its

(1) Afro-Malagasy Common Organization

part, the Canadian delegation is ready to discuss the best means of ensuring better co-operation, at the cultural and technical levels, among French-speaking countries."

The Honourable Marcel Masse, Minister without Portfolio responsible for the public service in the Government of Quebec, also spoke. The following are extracts from his speech:

"... I wish to express to you our acceptance of the idea of an international agency for co-operation among the French-speaking countries and groups, in the fields of culture and technique — that is to say, in the fields where we have the most in common and the most to exchange, the fields also where it is possible to build up co-operation unaffected by diverging political or economic outlooks.

"... Indeed it seems to us that the multilateral co-operation we can develop among ourselves will draw its originality and promise from the pooling of special experiences, from the very diversity of our histories and geographic situations, from the meeting of the civilizations and ways of life that we represent or reflect. In this connection, we believe that there is a great deal to be done with regard to information, with regard to mutual acquaintance; we believe that only an international organization with a cultural and technical purpose can accomplish such a task."

This first conference of the French-speaking or partly French-speaking countries was hailed by the representatives of several countries as an important step toward the organizing of the French-speaking world. It is appropriate in this connection to quote the following passage from the speech made by the representative of the Ivory Coast:

La Francophonie does not have to be created from nothing; it has already been in existence for some time; in any event, definitely before the word *Francophonie* was coined. Better still, it is a living reality.

Visit of the Foreign Minister of West Germany

GERMAN and Canadian views on a number of international and bilateral questions were exchanged by His Excellency Willy Brandt, Foreign Minister of the Federal Republic of Germany, and the Secretary of State for External Affairs, the Honourable Mitchell Sharp, at whose invitation the Foreign Minister visited Ottawa from April 6 to 8. This was Mr. Brandt's first visit to Ottawa in his present capacity, though he had called at the Canadian capital once before in 1959, when he was Governing Mayor of West Berlin.

During his stay in Ottawa, Mr. Brandt held talks with his host on a variety of matters. Included were East-West relations, the European security problem, the NATO ministerial meeting scheduled to take place in Washington later the same week and Canada's NATO policy. The two ministers also discussed a number of other international topics of common interest including China, Nigeria, the Non-Proliferation Treaty and Latin America. Among the matters of bilateral interest they raised were trade between Canada and the Federal



in Ottawa, West German Foreign Minister Willy Brandt (right) chats with Canada's Secretary of State for External Affairs Mitchell Sharp.

Republic and co-operation in scientific and technological matters. The ministers agreed in principle that the two countries should conclude a general scientific agreement, subject to further study by Canadian and German experts of the specific matters that might fall within the framework of such an agreement.

Trade, Defence and Science

Mr. Brandt also met with the Minister of Industry, Trade and Commerce, the Honourable Jean-Luc Pepin, to discuss a number of trade matters of common interest. Among these were the future of Canadian exports of uranium to the Federal Republic and the effect of the common agricultural policy of the European Economic Community on Canadian exports of farm products both to the EEC and to other countries. The German Foreign Minister spoke as well with the Minister of National Defence, the Honourable Léo Cadieux, about defence matters, and with the President of the Privy Council, the Honourable Donald Macdonald, about co-operation in science and technology.

The visit of Mr. Brandt brought to Canada an outstanding political figure known in his own country and abroad for his courageous commitment to the ideals of democracy. To Canadians he first became widely known as the result of his outstanding leadership as Governing Mayor of West Berlin, particularly during the crises of 1958 and 1961. More recently, he has continued to put at the service of his country, both as leader of the Opposition and later as Vice-Chancellor and Foreign Minister, that combination of realism and idealism that is the hallmark of statesmanship. He has continued to support increased co-operation, both among the countries of Western Europe and, on a broader stage, of the Western alliance. He has also sought unceasingly to find ways of improving his country's relations with Eastern Europe, including the Soviet Union.

Scientific and Educational Exchanges

In part through their common membership in NATO, Canada and the Federal Republic have grown accustomed to regular discussion of a wide range of matters of defence policy and East-West relations. Co-operation in other areas, including bilateral exchanges in various fields, has developed less quickly. This situation is changing as Canada's relations with the Federal Republic grow closer and the two countries become increasingly aware of opportunities for mutually beneficial co-operation. One example of recent weeks is the decision to sign an agreement regulating the use by German scientists of facilities at the Churchill Research Range for peaceful space-research projects. Another is the Canadian-German student-exchange programme, which will see in 1969 a record total of some 500 students cross the Atlantic in both directions. Cultural exchanges are also on the increase and may lead to the negotiation of a cultural agreement.

Mr. Brandt's visit has thus served as a reminder of the extent of the common interests of the two countries, the breadth of existing relations between them, and the potential areas of co-operation that remain to be developed.

Mauritania and Canada

AMBASSADORS have recently been exchanged by Mauritania and Canada, thus inaugurating official relations between the two countries and setting the stage for a programme of increased bilateral co-operation. Abdallahi Ould Daddah, brother of the President of Mauritania and Mauritanian Ambassador to the United Nations, presented his credentials to the Governor General of Canada on March 19, 1968, and, on December 12, 1968, Mr. Jean Côté, the Ambassador of Canada to Senegal, presented his credentials to President Moktar Ould Daddah.

Contact between Mauritania and Canada is fairly recent. Canadian investors have shown an interest in the development of the copper mines at Akjoujt, and some Canadian tourists have paid brief visits to Mauritania. In the past few years Canada has provided scholarships for a few young Mauritians.

The Islamic Republic of Mauritania covers 420,000 square miles, from 5 to 17 degrees West longitude and from 16 to 26 degrees North latitude. It is bounded on the west by the Atlantic Ocean and the Spanish territory of Rio de Oro, on the northeast by Algeria, on the east and south by Mali and on the south by Senegal. From south to north, rainfall produces greatly varied climates that have a marked effect upon the way of life of the population.



The Canadian Ambassador resident in Dakar, Senegal, Mr. Jean Côté, presents his letters of credence to President Moktar Ould Daddah of the Islamic Republic of Mauritania.

In the south is the region that geographers call Chemana, a fertile area along the Senegal River, which floods the land and enriches it with alluvial deposits. Here dwell 250,000 sedentary negroes of the Toucouleur, Sarakollé, Peul and Bambara tribes, who grow rice, corn, sweet potatoes, peanuts and, most important of all, millet.

About 200 kilometers to the north of the river begins the territory of Sahel, where the dunes of the Sahara, held in place by thorn bushes, surround plains on which grass grows at certain times of the year, providing pasture for the innumerable camels, goats, sheep and other grazing animals, nearly ten million head of livestock in all, representing the main economic resource of the country.

In the centre of the country, the jagged peaks of the Tagant Mountains and the Adrar Range reach heights of 900 to 1500 feet. This is also a region of oases, where some 800,000 palm-trees grow. In their shade, agglomerations of prosperous Berbers have developed, in the *ksars* of Atar, of Tidjikja and of Chinguetti, which is one of the seven holy cities of Islam.

The Sahara occupies the northern part of the country, reaching the Atlantic near Nouadhibou (formerly Port Etienne) south of Lévrier Bay, the first-ranking harbour of French-speaking Africa in tonnage, and one of the largest fishing ports of the South Atlantic.

Outside the river region, where farm populations live, there are 800,000 nomadic Moors who roam the country in search of pasturage for their herds, camping in tents and living on milk, millet and dates.

History and Political Institutions

The colonial period began about the middle of the nineteenth century. Faïdherbe, and later Coppolani, were its chief agents. France gradually brought about administrative unity and undertook to develop the country.

On November 28, 1958, following a referendum arranged by France, the Islamic Republic of Mauritania, a member state of the French Community, was proclaimed, with internal autonomy. Independence followed on November 28, 1960, and Mauritania was admitted to the United Nations on April 19, 1961, as the one hundred and third member state.

Mauritania is a republic whose constitution provides for a presidential form of government. The religion of the Moors, like that of the black Mauritians, is Islamic of the Malekite rite; the observance of its regulations is supervised by Koranic schools. The constitution provides that the President of the Republic, elected for five years by direct universal suffrage, must be a Muslim and must pledge his faith in "the One God".

Legislative power is vested in the National Assembly, which is elected for five years. The territorial communities of the republic will shortly become regions. The national language is Arabic; the official language is French. Mauritania, a one-party country, is ruled by the Mauritanian People's Party, whose secretary-general is Moktar Ould Daddah.

The Capital

Until 1957 the territory of Mauritania was administered from Saint Louis, Senegal. Once independence was achieved, the choice of a capital became imperative. A decree dated July 24, 1957, designated Nouakchott, which offered such advantages as proximity to the sea, as well as to rural regions, pasture land and mines, and a relatively cool climate. It is also a highway hub. Where Antoine de St. Exupéry found in 1926 only a small fort in the midst of sand dunes, there was ten years later a modern capital city. Today Nouakchott, with its international airport, its quay, its plant for removing salt from sea-water, its modern 250-bed hospital, its schools and political institutions, its hotels and business establishments, its diplomatic and consular offices and its numerous dwellings, has 22,000 inhabitants and fully merits the designation "the Brasilia of the Desert".

Economy

Long considered as occupying a desert without any natural resources of importance, Mauritania formerly lived at the level of mere subsistence. Contact with the outside world began in the fifteenth century with the exploitation and sale of gum arabic, of which Mauritania still produces 4,000 tons a year. Even today, 90 per cent of the population depends on animal husbandry, the production of foodstuffs and, to a lesser degree, the produce of the palm-groves.

However, in the past ten years an important modern segment of the economy has developed, mainly from the exploiting of the iron mines in F'Derik (formerly Fort Gouraud); the mines make Mauritania the second largest producer in Africa, immediately after Liberia, with more than seven million tons a year, which gives the state over a quarter of its revenue. It is expected that, from 1970, the large copper deposits at Akjoujt will be exploited. Mauritania also possesses important fishing resources on the continental shelf. In 1967 it exported 11,000 tons of fish, compared to 7,000 only a year earlier. Finally, a programme of drilling has been undertaken along the coast to test indications of exploitable oil deposits.

The first four-year plan, 1963-66, involving an expenditure of \$132 million, was carried out normally. It favoured particularly the modern economic sector. The second four-year plan, 1969-73, will be devoted to promotion of the traditional stock-raising and agricultural sector.

With a balanced budget and rapidly expanding economy, Mauritania is today well along the road of development.

Senior United Nations Officials Visit Ottawa

M^{R.} Philippe de Seynes, Under-Secretary-General for Economic and Social Affairs, and Chief S. O. Adebo, Under-Secretary-General and Executive Director of the United Nations Institute for Training and Research (UNITAR), attended the United Nations Association of Canada Seminar at the Language Centre in Hull, Quebec, from April 11 to 13, 1969. The officials, who were visiting Ottawa for the first time, had a number of meetings with federal officials on April 10 and 11.

Before becoming head of the Economic and Social Affairs Department in the United Nations Secretariat, Mr. de Seynes was a member of the French delegation to the United Nations specially concerned with the activities of the Economic and Social Council. In 1954 he served as an adviser to Mr. Pierre Mendès-France, who was then Prime Minister of France. Mr. de Seynes' Department, in addition to its general responsibilities in the economic and social field, is directly concerned with the preparatory work for the Second Development



Chief S. O. Adebo and Mr. Philippe de Seynes in conversation with the Head of the United Nations Division of the Department of External Affairs, Mr. W. H. Barton (centre).

Decade. Mr. de Seynes, who takes a close personal interest in this work, is considered to be one of the architects of the Decade.

Chief Adebo, a former Permanent Representative of Nigeria to the United Nations and Nigerian Commissioner-General for Economic Affairs, became Executive Director of UNITAR in 1967. The Institute, which conducts a number of training programmes for the United Nations and has initiated research studies of the objectives of the United Nations, is financed by voluntary contributions. It became operational in 1966. Canada is contributing \$300,000 to the 5-year UNITAR programme. The Institute's Board of Trustees is made up of individuals from a number of countries acting in a personal capacity. Mr. John Holmes, Executive Director of the Canadian Institute for International Affairs, is a member.

While in Ottawa, Mr. de Seynes and Chief Adebo met members of the Interdepartmental Committee on the Specialized Agencies of the United Nations, as well as officials of the Canadian International Development Agency, the Department of External Affairs and the Bank of Canada. They read papers at the United Nations Association Seminar and took a leading part in the discussions.

CONFERENCES

- UNCTAD Trade and Development Board, resumed eighth session: Geneva, May 5-17
- Commonwealth Parliamentary Association, Caribbean Regional Conference: Antigua, May 12-16
- Council of Europe, twenty-first ordinary session of the Consultative Assembly: Strasbourg, May 12-16
- Pan-American Institute of Geography and History, ninth general assembly: Mexico City, May 28 - June 20
- Association interparlementaire France-Canada: Ottawa, June 30 - July 2
- UNCTAD Trade and Development Board, ninth session: Geneva, August 23 - September 12
- Fourth International Agricultural Aviation Congress: Kingston, Ontario, August 25-29
- World Conference on Bird Hazards to Aircraft: Kingston, Ontario, September 2-5
- International Red Cross Conference, twenty-first session: Istanbul, September 13-16
- Commonwealth Conference on Speakers and Presiding Officers: Ottawa, September 8-12
- Commonwealth Parliamentary Association, general conference: Port-of-Spain, October 4-19
- Colombo Plan Consultative Committee: Victoria, B.C., October 14-31
- North Atlantic Assembly, fifteenth annual conference: Brussels, October 27-31
- Interparliamentary Union, fifty-seventh interparliamentary conference: New Delhi, October 30-November 7
- Association internationale des Parlementaires de Langue française, second annual conference: Tunisia, January 1970

APPOINTMENTS, TRANSFERS AND RESIGNATIONS IN THE DEPARTMENT OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS AND FOREIGN SERVICE

- Mr. J. Bilodeau posted from Ottawa to the Canadian Embassy, Havana, effective March 1, 1969.
- Mrs. J. C. Milloy appointed to the Department of External Affairs as Organization and Methods Officer 2, effective March 3, 1969.
- Mr. T. M. M. Pope resigned from the Department of External Affairs, effective March 4, 1969.
- Mr. H. S. Sterling posted from the Canadian Embassy, Havana, to the Canadian Embassy, Caracas, effective March 6, 1969.
- Mr. R. G. MacNeill, Consul General of Canada in New Orleans, retired from the Public Service, effective March 13, 1969.
- Mr. M. Godfrey posted from the Canadian Embassy, Caracas, to Ottawa, effective March 14, 1969.
- Mr. R. R. Fowler appointed to the Department of External Affairs as Foreign Service Officer 1, effective March 17, 1969.
- Mr. J. N. J. Castonguay appointed to the Department of External Affairs as Foreign Service Officer 1, effective March 17, 1969.
- Mr. J. C. Marion appointed to the Department of External Affairs as Financial Administrator 1, effective March 17, 1969.
- Mr. J. P. Schioler posted from Ottawa to the Office of the High Commissioner for Canada, Lagos, effective March 20, 1969.
- Mr. F. R. Charron appointed to the Department of External Affairs as Foreign Service Officer 1, effective March 24, 1969.
- Mr. D. B. Hicks, High Commissioner for Canada to Ghana, accredited concurrently Canadian Ambassador to Togo, effective March 28, 1969.
- Mr. M. Beaudoin, Canadian Ambassador to the Congo, accredited concurrently Canadian Ambassador to Rwanda, effective March 29, 1969.
- Mr. M. D. Bell posted from Ottawa to the Office of the High Commissioner for Canada, Kingston, effective March 29, 1969.

TREATY INFORMATION

Current Action

Bilateral

Czechoslovakia

Air Transport between the Government of Canada and the Government of the Czechoslovak Republic.

Signed at Prague March 20, 1969.

Entered into force March 20, 1969.

France

Exchange of Notes between the Government of Canada and the Government of France concerning the construction, maintenance and operation of a cattle quarantine station on the territory of St. Pierre and Miquelon.

Ottawa April 3, 1969.

Entered into force April 3, 1969.

Israel

Exchange of Notes between the Government of Canada and the Government of Israel amending Article 21 of the Extradition Agreement between the Government of Canada and the Government of Israel.

Israel February 4, 1969.

Switzerland

Exchange of Notes between the Government of Canada and the Government of the Confederation of Switzerland renewing for a period of three years the Agreement of March 6, 1958, concerning co-operation in the peaceful uses of atomic energy.

Ottawa April 23, 1969.

Entered into force April 23, 1969 (effective from July 31, 1968).

United States of America

Exchange of Notes between the Government of Canada and the Government of the United States of America concerning the application of safeguards to the transfer of small quantities of uranium from Canada to the United States.

Washington January 30, 1969.

Entered into force January 30, 1969.

Exchange of Notes between the Government of Canada and the Government of the United States of America concerning a special operating programme for the Duncan and Arrow storages on the Columbia River system.

Ottawa December 30, 1968, and February 26, 1969.

Entered into force February 26, 1969.

Multilateral

Commonwealth Telegraphs Agreements (1948 and 1963) Terminating Agreement.

Signed at London January 27, 1969.

Entered into force April 1, 1969.

Commonwealth Telecommunications Organization Financial Agreement.

Signed at London January 27, 1969.

Entered into force April 1, 1969.

EXTERNAL AFFAIRS

*External Affairs is issued monthly in English and French by the
Department of External Affairs, Ottawa.*

*It provides reference material on Canada's external relations
and reports the current work and activities of the Department.*

Any material in this publication may be reproduced.

Citation of External Affairs as the source would be appreciated.

*Subscription rates: Canada, the United States and Mexico,
\$2.00 a year; other countries, \$2.50; students in Canada,
the United States and Mexico, \$1.00 a year; in other
countries, \$1.50. Subscriptions are sent post free.*

*Remittances, payable to the Receiver General of Canada,
should be sent to the Queen's Printer, Ottawa, Canada.*

*Authorized as Second Class Mail, Post Office Department,
Ottawa.*

Published by authority of
the Honourable Mitchell Sharp,
Secretary of State for External Affairs

Vol. XXI, No. 6

Contents

June 1969

Prime Minister Trudeau Visits President Nixon	230
Canada and the Changing Pacific	235
Canada Unveils a National Showcase for the Arts	243
Defence Policy and Foreign Policy	249
Canada's Relations with Latin America	257
The International Labour Organization	259
<i>Appointments, Transfers and Resignations in the Department of External Affairs</i>	<i>264</i>

Prime Minister Trudeau Visits President Nixon

IT WAS "altogether appropriate", in view of the many common concerns binding Canada and the United States, that the Prime Minister of Canada should be the first head of government to pay him an official visit since his assumption of office, said the Honorable Richard M. Nixon, President of the United States, in his address of welcome to the Right Honourable Pierre Elliott Trudeau on March 24, 1969. Mr. Trudeau and his party, which included the Honourable Mitchell Sharp, Secretary of State for External Affairs, had arrived at Andrews Air Force Base, Maryland, by special Canadian aircraft in a cold spring rain that washed out the customary open-air welcome. Greeted by the United States Chief of Protocol, the Honorable Emil Mosbacher Jr., the Canadian party was flown to the White House in the President's personal helicopter, there to be officially welcomed in the East Room by President Nixon himself, the Secretary of State, the Honorable William P. Rogers, the Dean of the Washington Diplomatic Corps and other officials.

Mr. Trudeau's visit to President Nixon began with a private discussion that lasted 90 minutes, during which time Mr. Sharp talked with Mr. Rogers. The Prime Minister and the President then rejoined the two Secretaries and other officials in the Cabinet Room for further talks.

Afterwards, the U.S. Secretary of State was host at a lunch for Mr. Trudeau in the Benjamin Franklin Room of the Department of State building. In a toast to the guest of honour, Mr. Rogers declared that Canada's history and future were "intimately bound" to the history and future of the United States. Later in the afternoon, the Prime Minister conferred with Mr. Rogers and officials of the Department of State.

In the evening, President and Mrs. Nixon gave a state dinner at the White House in honour of Prime Minister Trudeau, during which Mr. Nixon stated that there could be no fundamental differences between the goals of the peoples of the United States and Canada. In reply, Mr. Trudeau observed that Canada and the United States were the sort of friends that could tell one another the truth, and expressed his gratitude for Mr. Nixon's hospitality.

On the morning of March 25, Mr. Trudeau met, at the White House, first with a group of Cabinet ministers comprising Secretary of Defence Laird, Secretary of the Treasury Kennedy, Secretary of the Interior Hickel, Secretary of Agriculture Hardin and Secretary of Commerce Stans, next with the Vice-President, the Honorable Spiro T. Agnew, and finally with President Nixon himself.

At the end of the meeting between the Prime Minister and the President the following summary of their talks was released:

"The President of the U.S.A. and the Prime Minister of Canada exchanged views on a wide range of international and bilateral matters. They seek a close, confident relationship between the two countries. The Prime Minister's visit has put the foundations in place for a continuing discussion on a number of questions.

"The President has stated that he values the views and the outlook which the Prime Minister has imparted to him. The President said : "The viewpoint



Prime Minister Trudeau and President Nixon stand at attention in front of the north portico of the White House in Washington while the national anthems of Canada and the United States are played during a ceremony welcoming Mr. Trudeau to the U.S. capital.

of the Canadian Government has always weighed heavily in the formation of United States policy. No other ally influences us more.' The Prime Minister of Canada stressed that his Government is anxious to maintain and develop Canada's already close and friendly relations with the United States.

"The President and the Prime Minister discussed the future of NATO. The President expressed the U.S. commitment to NATO. The President also emphasized the interest of the U.S.A. in negotiations with the Soviet Union rather than in confrontations.

"The President of the United States and the Prime Minister of Canada have discussed the recent decision of the United States to proceed with the Safeguard System and its possible implications for Canada.

"The President of the United States informed the Prime Minister of Canada of the reasons which led the United States to make this decision and of the United States' expectations as to its effects on East-West relations and on possible arms-control measures.

"Over the years, the United States has regularly informed Canada of plans and developments in the ABM field; it has been agreed that this practice will be continued.

"The Prime Minister will report to his Cabinet colleagues on his discussions with the United States Administration and a full assessment will be made of the implications for Canada of the Safeguard System.

"The two countries share an intimate and valued trading relationship, unique in amount and diversity. They also share a commitment to further the expansion and freeing-up of world trade for the benefit of developing and developed countries alike.

"As the next step in high-level consultation, a meeting of the Joint Cabinet Committee on Trade and Economic Policy will be held on June 25-27. The meeting will provide an opportunity to discuss the full range of economic and financial questions, including balance of payments, investment, energy, and trade.

"In the context of the common interest of the two countries in the expansion of cross-border movement of energy, United States-Canadian developments in the matter of oil were discussed at length. Senior officials of the two Governments will, on April 2, initiate meetings to identify and study areas of common interest in energy matters and to work out constructive solutions to current problems against the background of long-standing arrangements.

"The President and the Prime Minister agreed to work closely together with other exporting and importing countries to find positive solutions to current problems of the world wheat market within the framework of the International Grains Arrangement. Both countries will be working to overcome present market instability and to strengthen prices consistent with the provisions of the Agreement.

"The two discussed Canada's plans for a domestic communications satellite, and the possibility of its launching by the U.S. The President stated that the U.S.

is prepared, in principle, to provide launch services for this satellite, subject to appropriate arrangements which it is hoped will be worked out in the next few weeks.

"The Prime Minister's visit marks a first step in a new era of consultation between Canada and the United States. We have done much together in the past; we can do more. Problems between us can be settled in ways that promote the interests and the identities of both nations.



Prime Minister Trudeau addresses members of the press and guests during a lunch in his honour at the National Press Club Building in Washington.

“The Prime Minister invited the President and Mrs. Nixon to visit Canada. The President has indicated that he wishes to accept the invitation.”

Groundwork Laid for Future

At noon, in a leave-taking ceremony for the Prime Minister in the White House, President Nixon observed that the meeting had been one of the most successful ever held between U.S. and Canadian officials and stated that, since he regarded the present era as one of consultation and co-operation between the United States and Canada, he would communicate with the Prime Minister not only by means of official visits but also by telephone and through diplomatic channels. Prime Minister Trudeau agreed that he and the President had indeed laid the groundwork for a new kind of consultation between Canada and the United States in many areas.

In the afternoon, the National Press Club gave a lunch in Mr. Trudeau's honour at its headquarters building. Prime Minister Trudeau addressed the Club, and answered a number of written questions.

During the afternoon, the Prime Minister visited the Chancery of Canada and also met with the Mayor-Commissioner of the District of Columbia at the latter's office. Mayor-Commissioner Washington presented him with the Key to the City of Washington.

In the evening, the Canadian Ambassador, Mr. A. E. Ritchie, gave a dinner at the Canadian Embassy at which the Prime Minister and his party were able to meet a broadly representative group from American public, professional, business and academic life. Later in the evening, the Prime Minister and his party returned to Ottawa.

Canada and the Changing Pacific

AN ADDRESS BY THE HONOURABLE JEAN-LUC PEPIN,
MINISTER OF INDUSTRY, TRADE AND COMMERCE,
TO THE VANCOUVER BOARD OF TRADE, MAY 5, 1969

I AM just back from a stimulating trip to six countries of the Pacific: Japan, Thailand, Malaysia, Singapore, Australia and New Zealand. (This trip follows by a few months a "ministerial expedition" to Latin America which covered other Pacific countries: Chile, Peru, Colombia, Guatemala, Costa Rica and Mexico.) It is appropriate that my first report should be given here in Vancouver and to a group of businessmen quite naturally most interested in the Pacific area.

... I would like to concentrate on general impressions and to comment on specific trade problems, projects and opportunities.

André Siegfried, the late French geographer, noted in *Canada, puissance internationale*, some 35 years ago, that Canada was destined, somehow condemned, to internationalism on a grand scale, partly by its economic interests — by its need to export some of its obvious surpluses.

Siegfried's analysis has proved right. Canada, in its own interest, has preached a policy of progressive trade liberalism and practised it, most of the time, maintaining that the world would be a better place in which to live if each country produced, for itself and others, that for which it is particularly suited.

Today, Canada has \$26 billion of international trade (\$13.6 billion of exports, \$12.4 billion of imports in 1968). Last year's increase in exports was 19 per cent, in imports 13 per cent — quite impressive indeed.

Canadians trade mostly with the United States, but with all other areas of the world as well. We can hardly afford to neglect any area and we must diversify as much as possible our sources and our markets. Which does not mean that we should not at different times put more emphasis on a particular area. (Canadian exports 1968: U.S.A. 67.6 per cent, Western Europe 16.7 per cent, Pacific 8.4 per cent; Canadian imports 1968: U.S.A. 73.2 per cent, Western Europe 13.3 per cent, Pacific 5.3 per cent.)

We trade in all products — primary materials and foodstuffs, fabricated materials and end products. The proportion of manufactured goods is increasing. From 1960 to 1968, primary materials and foodstuffs decreased from 37 per cent to 27 per cent, processed materials from 51 per cent to 38 per cent, and manufactured products increased from 12 per cent to 35 per cent.

We must continue on this course. It is in the manufactured field that the growth factor, the returns on capital and the labour content are the greatest.

In this context, the Pacific region is becoming more and more important to Canada because it has great growth potential in all categories of goods, particularly manufactured goods and for investments and services as well.

This is why the Pacific has become an important consideration in the Government's current review of foreign policies. This review is, indeed, not only concerned with diplomacy and defence but also, and increasingly, with trade, aid, investments, services, tourism and all other aspects of business. It may consequently be said that my tour was part of the foreign policy review.

A Busy Schedule

What did we do? For more than two weeks I had officials of my department . . . , Canadian trade commissioners and diplomats on the scene, review, at a hectic pace if I may say so, the situation between Canada and each of these six countries in a broad context of political economy, economics, aid and defence procurement. We talked frankly with prime ministers, ministers of trade, of finance, of development, with businessmen individually and in groups, with members of associations of commerce or manufacturers We also met with Canadians living abroad and we visited them at work when time permitted. I made many speeches, met university professors in social clubs and held daily press conferences.

I took part in the ministerial meeting with Japan, which was the most fruitful and frank ever held. I signed a commercial agreement with Thailand and opened a trade office there. Negotiations were started with Australia and New Zealand towards updating our trade agreements with those countries, and I proposed to their ministers to hold regular meetings at the ministerial and official levels in order to place our friendship on a broader and more effective basis. In all six countries, other areas of co-operation were investigated and specific projects explored in our discussions with local leaders. I shall refer to some of these in more detail later.

We were welcomed everywhere we went. More political consultations, more trade, more joint ventures and a provision of expertise, more educational and cultural exchanges were suggested. People in the countries we visited are getting to know Canada much better. Pierre Trudeau and the recognition of the Communist China government have been added to separatism and hockey as "Canada topics". To the people we visited, Canada is an example for middle-sized powers.

All of these countries are also becoming urbanized and industrialized. Many of them also have pluralistic societies. They too live close to large world powers. They feel that Canada has found solutions to these problems. Canada is not a threat to them, and they would like to deal with us especially in sensitive matters close to the maintenance of their sovereignty : economic development, education, cultural exchanges, communications.

The door is wide open to Canadians !

The Pacific area is evolving rapidly. Although there are great differences, politically and economically, between the countries involved, it is still possible to generalize.

For a long time, most of these countries were extensions of Europe or the United States. After an anti-colonialist period, their commercial connections with metropolitan powers have been restored but the relationship is different. The Pacific area is acquiring a more autonomous and specific identity of its own. There is a rapidly evolving interest among these nations in one another's affairs and the flow of economic activity between them is growing more rapidly than with the outside.

The security of the area has recently acquired fundamental importance. Britain has announced its withdrawal from Southeast Asia by 1971, with limited exceptions. In the face of this, the countries concerned are anxious to develop their own defence capabilities and Britain's former responsibilities are being accepted to some degree by Australia and New Zealand, adding to their involvement in Vietnam, considered by them to be a "Pacific affair". Japan is playing an increasingly key role as an importer of raw materials, a manufacturer of goods and a supplier of capital. The trade between Australia and New Zealand is also expanding dramatically following the Free Trade Agreement made in 1966. Canada, too, is getting more active, as I shall show later.

Areas of Specific Change

The essential unity of the area is becoming more and more felt by more and more people. I think we in Canada, with the possible exception of enlightened Westerners, have not realized the situation as well as have Australians and New Zealanders. Within these broad trends, we should be aware of a number of specific changes which are taking place, as they should affect our approach to the area.

Industrialization is increasing everywhere. New Zealand is reducing its dependence on agriculture. Singapore is seeking to become more than just an entrepôt and offers extraordinary incentives to industry at the Jurong Industrial Estate. A similar arrangement exists in Malaysia. Australia requires a larger population and more industry in order to reduce its dependence upon agriculture and primary products.

The development of better infrastructures is a dominant preoccupation. Seaports and airports are being improved. Hydro-electric power is being expanded. The purchase of nuclear-power reactors is being considered. Tourist facilities are being improved. (New hotels are going up everywhere in Singapore.)

There is a good deal of local investment, and for the most part there is a considerable supply of capital. We were told, for example, by the President of the Malaysian National Bank, that the need was not for money essentially but for more expertise, more technical and managerial experience. It was often suggested that there should be more joint ventures with Canadians.

Like ourselves, I found people in these countries keenly interested in diversifying their foreign trade and their economic relations generally. Like us, they are anxious "not to put too many eggs in too few baskets".

Standards of living are improving. Needs are developing for consumer goods. Although we may sometimes not agree with their economic policies, government experience and competence in economic planning are increasing. I was impressed with the "operations room" in Kuala Lumpur, the centre for economic planning in Malaysia.

All these factors are favourable to trade. Canada is welcome and we must answer the call. Important, long-range decisions are being made now in these countries which will profoundly influence the future of the area and the trading positions of other countries, and of Canada specifically.

Canada and the Pacific

I am not announcing a new Pacific trade policy. Canada has always maintained a healthy interest in Pacific affairs. Politically, Canada has been involved in Korea and in Vietnam and now our proposals to recognize Communist China are being watched with keen interest in the countries I visited.

Philanthropically, Canada has sent hundreds of missionaries, both religious and laymen, to every corner of the Pacific. Our present aid programme centred in the UN agencies, the Colombo Plan and the Asian Development Bank, is impressive. Financially, Canadians have invested some \$500 million in the area over a wide range of enterprises, from manufacturing in Australia to resource development in Malaysia. Good Canadian diplomats and trade commissioners are at work in almost every country of the region.

The Department of Industry, Trade and Commerce is spending \$698,000 this year for trade missions and trade fairs, compared to \$168,000 last year.

This year, we are participating in seven trade fairs, including the international engineering show at Melbourne, the international trade fair in Auckland and, strangely enough, the Japan Electronics Show in Osaka. Canada participated in the latter fair last year, and it is anticipated that Canadian exports of \$40 million will result over the next five years.

We also had an observer at the Canton Trade Fair in China, and I received a personal report on this fair.

While I was in Japan, 29 Canadian firms were participating in a solo Canadian food show in Tokyo, which I also attended.

This year, \$165,000 will be spent on trade missions to Pacific countries, compared to \$88,000 last year. This will consist of both incoming and outgoing missions: e.g., a consulting engineering and capital equipment mission to Australia, New Zealand and Fiji; a rapeseed mission from Japan; a wire and cable mission from Southeast Asia; an electrical equipment mission to Southeast Asia; and a logging and sawmill equipment and services mission from Australia and New Zealand.

I should single out our participation in Expo 70 at Osaka, where I saw our pavilion under construction. It is accumulating a collection of "firsts" — first contract signed, first started construction, etc. It is getting much advance publicity in Japan. The federal pavilion is now nearly finished. There is also a beautiful British Columbia pavilion well under way; Ontario and Quebec will complete an exceptional Canadian presentation.

Trade Results of Pacific Policy

The results of these efforts, in trade terms, is striking. In 1968, the total two-way trade between Canada and Pacific countries, excluding the United States and Latin America, exceeded \$1.8 billion, compared to \$582 million in 1960, about a threefold increase. Our exports to Pacific countries amounted to \$1,107 million, up from \$963 million in 1967. These exports include primary materials — aluminum, woodpulp, lumber, copper, newsprint, grain, coal — but they also include a wide range of manufactured products. For example, Australia is the second market for Canadian fully-manufactured goods after the United States.

As you well know, new facilities are being created in Roberts Bank and the Port of Vancouver is being expanded to cope with this growth in trade. This is a good record, thanks mainly to Western Canada, but there is plenty of room for improvement.

For example, I should like to see Eastern manufacturers get into this trade more aggressively and on a broader basis.

Our outstanding engineering services must become more involved.

From the Government's point of view, more attention must be given to relations with the area. We must bring our trade agreements up to date and expand them, and this has been started.

Our transportation arrangements must be improved. For example, I asked New Zealand ministers to review their decision to terminate the air agreement with Canada and they agreed to do so.

Canadian politicians should visit the area more often to assess and develop Canadian interests, to work for more liberal trade and better entry for our goods. I have suggested to Australian and New Zealand ministers that there should be more regular meetings between us along the lines of the Canada-Japan Ministerial Committee.

May I repeat : we are not developing *new* trade policies towards the Pacific countries but rather we are accentuating and emphasizing the present policies.

Let me now be a little more specific. What are our problems in the area and on what exports should we concentrate? Obviously, the situation varies from one country to another. These countries have differing policies and requirements, owing to their differing stages of economic development. Canada's ability to meet these requirements depends on our own state of industrial development.

Most of these countries practise some form of protectionism — mainly

by direct import restrictions or by high tariffs. They also tend towards discriminatory regional trading arrangements which limit access for Canadian goods. There has been progress in dealing with these measures, but, without going into much detail, let me refer to one or two of them.

We were anxious at the ministerial meeting to encourage the Japanese ministers to favour a high level of Canadian processing in many of our exports to their country. We are considerably restricted in our ability to supply manufactured products owing to import controls. To achieve our own national economic objectives, a greater degree of processing in Canada is evidently required, whether this be in upgrading resources materials or in manufacturing. We gave Japan a list of products we would like liberalized.

Special arrangements have been made between Australia and New Zealand to encourage the supply of New Zealand newsprint and woodpulp to Australia. It is our view that free-trade agreements of the kind made between these two countries should not result in new restrictions against outside countries and, indeed, such measures are contrary to the GATT.

Import controls and other trade measures are used by the developing countries of the Pacific area as well as New Zealand, either to encourage industrialization or to assist with the balance of payments. This has affected our trade but progress is being made in dealing with these measures. For example, New Zealand is progressively liberalizing its import restrictions.

Canada has also done things which displeased some, or most of these countries.

In reviewing our relations with Japan and Singapore, I was asked about our policy regarding "low-cost" imports. We have agreements with a number of Asian countries under which they restrain certain exports to Canada, principally textiles, in order to avoid disruption of the Canadian market. The Minister of Finance outlined these bilateral arrangements in a speech in Vancouver in March. These arrangements are necessary to protect important Canadian industries from serious damage, protection which is provided to all members of the GATT, and which Canada has used more carefully than some other major trading countries.

I had to explain our policies regarding the dairy industry, especially in New Zealand. That country is a traditional supplier to Canada and has a great interest in liberal trading arrangements for dairy products. Canada is seeking to equate production with demand in order not to add to the international flood of this commodity. In the last two years, we have imported butter, particularly into Western Canada — New Zealand supplying five million pounds. I was also able to point out the growing Canadian market for other agricultural products from New Zealand, mainly lamb and beef. The prospects are that there will be a very substantial increase in the Canadian market for these products in 1969, possibly resulting in an expansion of New Zealand's total exports to Canada by as much as one-half (\$19 million in 1968).

Three Key Exports

I had a discussion in Canberra with Mr. McEwan, the Australian Minister of Trade and Industry, and Mr. Callaghan, Chairman of the Australian Wheat Board. They assured me that Australia was anxious to co-operate in the restoration of the minimum prices for wheat set out in the IGA and that it supports that agreement fully. Australia has already taken measures to reduce the marketing of wheat through a reduction of the quota allocated for advance payments to farmers.

We had discussions with Japanese ministers seeking a reduction of the tariff on rapeseed in Japan, and they have undertaken to review the present structure. I shall be anxious to follow this up. In Australia, the tariff on rapeseed oil had been increased substantially late last year. Canadian interests were affected owing to a considerable growth in exports of this product in recent months. I am glad to report that Australia has now restored the previous tariff structure (27 Australian cents, instead of 40, a gallon).

There have been health restrictions in New Zealand on imports of apples for many years, as well as import restrictions for balance-of-payments reasons. Last year, after many discussions with New Zealand authorities, the health restrictions were removed. While in Wellington recently, I discussed the possibility of import licensing being given for Canadian apples this year and believe arrangements will be made accordingly.

Canadian Projects

Let me give some examples of the many projects now being undertaken by Canadians in the area we visited. I can only choose among those already made public.

In Thailand, I signed an understanding increasing to \$670,000 the contribution of CIDA (Canadian International Development Agency) to a highway study being conducted by the Vancouver firm of N.D. Lea & Associates. This involves economic and soil-test studies. In Malaysia, the Vancouver firm of Cantrans Services (1965) Ltd. has been conducting studies to develop a forest industry complex. The Malaysian intention is to develop a continuing participation by Canadians. Also in Malaysia, there are prospects for a major pulp and paper development, which MacMillan Bloedel Limited is looking into. In Singapore, the Canadian firm of McNamara Engineering Limited has conducted a land-use and harbour study and Singapore authorities frequently refer to its great value in establishing the industrial estate which I have already mentioned.

I was also encouraged by the Singapore Minister of Finance to look into the possibility of a Canadian firm establishing there to manufacture prefabricated housing. This possibility is being explored. In Australia, a large number of Canadian firms are assisting on a commercial basis in the resource development of that country, including International Nickel and Cominco Limited. I was also encouraged in these countries to look into increased participation by Cana-

dian investors through joint ventures with local capital. For example, Polymer Corporation Limited, the Canadian synthetic rubber company, is at present engaged in discussions in Malaysia regarding a joint venture to process rubber there and to sell it through the Company's international marketing organization. This project is of great importance in Malaysia, since it will encourage increased rubber production and assist in rural development.

I had extensive discussions regarding the Canadian proposal to sell CF-5 military aircraft to the Malaysian Air Force. We have made an attractive offer which the Malaysian Government is keenly interested in. This would add to the fleet of *Caribou* aircraft which the Malaysian Air Force already uses.

I discussed prospects for new or expanded airports, in Thailand and Singapore particularly, and pointed out Canadian expertise in this field. In Australia and New Zealand, I discussed fully with ministers and others involved the possibility for production of nuclear energy using the Canadian CANDU reactor. I visited the Australian Atomic Energy Commission's research establishment at Lucas Heights. I was assured by New Zealand ministers that the decision to purchase would be solely on commercial and technical grounds.

Repeatedly, during this tour, I stated that Canadians, while solving their own problems, had acquired knowledge and experience in a wide range of fields : transportation, resource development, nuclear energy, education, etc. I encouraged local businessmen to look to Canada to a greater degree than they do at present, since Canadian capabilities are not as well known as are those of larger industrial countries.

A bill is at present in Parliament to set up an Export Development Corporation as a successor to the Export Credits Insurance Corporation. The new corporation will provide better support for Canadian exporters through the provision of new and expanded facilities for export credits, credit insurance and guarantees to encourage the provision of private financing for export and a new facility to insure Canadian investors in developing countries against certain non-commercial risks

Everywhere I went, I met enthusiasm for Canada and interest in establishing closer links with Canada. There are challenges to Canadian businessmen in the whole area :

The expansion and diversification of our exports to that burgeoning market, Japan;

the participation in the plans for economic growth and development of those developing countries of the Pacific;

the development of even closer trading relations with Australia and New Zealand.

Canada has, indeed, a wider role to play politically, socially, and economically in the Pacific. Let us hope that the Prime Minister's wish for "a new interest in Pacific affairs generally" will materialize.

Canada Unveils a National Showcase for the Arts

A MODERN ballet created by an international team of artists — a French choreographer, Roland Petit, a Greek composer, Iannis Xenakis, and a Hungarian costume designer, Victor Vasarely — was the introductory work in a festival of music and drama held from June 2 to 14 to open the first season of Canada's National Arts Centre in Ottawa. *Kraanerg*, the title of this production, is said to be derived from the Greek words *kraan* (signifying "man's desire") and *erg* ("energy"), and the compound suggests the ballet's theme, "the inadequacy of man to reach his goals". Balletgoers were offered more familiar fare in the form of Tchaikowsky's *Swan Lake* (June 3) and Prokofiev's *Romeo and Juliet* (June 7). *Kraanerg* was repeated on June 4. All three ballets were danced by Canada's National Ballet Company.

The inauguration of the National Arts Centre took place on May 31. Thus six years of planning for a national home for the performing arts in Canada came to a triumphant end and a cultural dream of many years was



The north corner of the National Arts Centre seen across Ottawa's Confederation Square.

realized. It was in February 1963 that 55 Ottawa Valley groups concerned with the arts came together to form the National Capital Arts Alliance. In November of that year, the Alliance presented the Federal Government with a report arguing that many Canadian associations dedicated to drama, ballet and music, not only in the Ottawa region but throughout the country, lacked the funds and facilities to enable them to meet normal standards of production and performance. The report's main recommendation was that the Government help improve the situation by financing a national centre to "nurture and encourage growth and excellence in the performing arts both in the national capital area and throughout Canada". The Government accepted this recommendation and, in February 1964, chose a firm of Canadian architects to design the proposed structure under the direction of the Secretary of State. The architects were afforded the advice of various committees of experts on theatre, music, the visual arts and management. A member of the Department of External Affairs, Mr. G. Hamilton Southam, was appointed co-ordinator of this national venture. A gift from the City of Ottawa in February 1964 provided part of the six-and-a-half-acre site on Confederation Square. Excavation began early in 1965.

Arts Corporation Created

The National Capital Arts Centre Act of 1966 set up a corporation "to operate and maintain the Centre, to develop the performing arts in the National Capital region and to assist the Canada Council in the development of the performing arts elsewhere in Canada". Construction took place under the supervision of the federal Department of Public Works. The fortress-like exterior, completed early in 1968, has for many months been a familiar bulk looming on the skyline at the northern end of Elgin Street. Its final cost was more than \$46 million.

The National Arts Centre is a complex of three hexagonal towers of varying sizes surmounting a single substructure a large part of which is underground. It encloses a combination opera house and concert hall, a theatre of medium size, an experimental studio and a salon. There are a large restaurant, a slightly smaller café and a coffee-shop, as well as two bookshops, a record-shop and several *boutiques*. A parking area beneath the Centre will accommodate 900 automobiles.

The spacious external terraces are reached by broad staircases. The somewhat bleak aspect of the structure from the south, on which side the exterior wall is unrelieved by the slender windows that break the surface of the eastern and northern walls, is softened by clusters of flowering trees — hawthorn, crabapple and Russian olive set along the edge of the main terrace in concrete planters.

Opera House

The opera house, largest of the three main elements of the Centre complex, can seat 2,300 persons. Like the other components, it has been fitted with

the most up-to-date technical equipment. By means of hydraulically-operated sounding-boards and curtains in the walls and ceiling, the acoustics of the horseshoe-shaped auditorium can be varied to suit the differing requirements of vocal groups and instrumental ensembles. The fact that no seat, even in the three balconies, is more than 114 feet from the stage imparts to the hall a feeling of intimacy unusual in so large a space. The sound arrangements are expected to meet any challenge presented by present-day electronic pro-



A diagonal view of the auditorium and balconies of the opera hall, largest of the three main structures in the National Arts Centre.

ductions. An important feature of the lighting system is a mechanism for "recording" any sequence of changes in the light level during rehearsal so that they may be "played back" in the correct order during performance by means of a single manual control.

The stage of the opera house concert hall is the second largest in North America, exceeded in size only by the stage of the Metropolitan Opera House in Lincoln Centre, New York City.

Theatre, Studio and Salon

The theatre, with its semicircular auditorium and single balcony, can seat 800 persons. The apron of the stage, which thrusts forward to meet the steeply-sloping floor of the auditorium, can be lowered to provide more seating space or to create an orchestra pit when the character of the play being performed calls for a proscenium. When the apron is in use, actors can make their entrances along the aisles. Although the theatre is intended primarily for plays, it can also be used for vocal recitals and concerts by small orchestras.

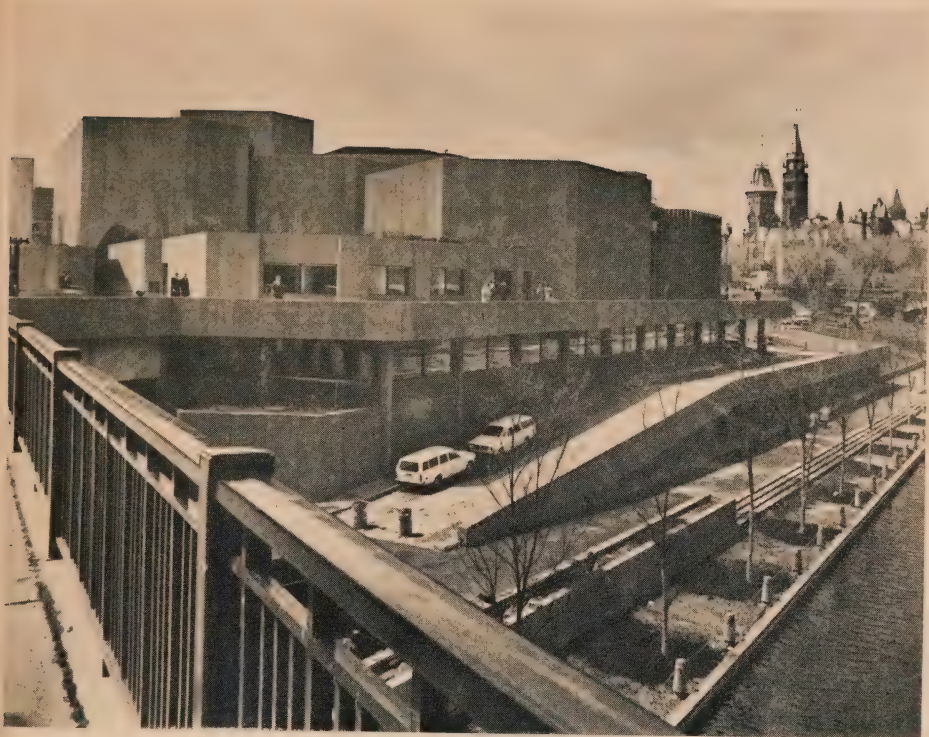
The studio area, which can seat 300, will be at the disposal of directors and designers who wish to experiment with the relations between audience and stage. It is a hexagon encircled by a narrow balcony that can be used as an extension of the stage or as additional seating space. The stage, another hexagon, situated off centre, can be raised 18 inches above the floor level or depressed as much as 12 feet below it. Running round the upper part of the wall is a "technical" gallery. Access to a grid for moving scenery is gained by the removal of panels and beams set into the ceiling.

The wood-panelled salon will be reserved for chamber music recitals and for receptions when no recitals are scheduled. It has room for 100 seats but no fixed seating. An uncarpeted hexagonal central area can be used as a stage or a dance-floor. The salon is dominated by cast aluminum doors 22 feet high, the work of the Montreal sculptor Jordi Bonet. A large tapestry by Alfred Manessier of Paris depicts a Canadian lake scene.

Translation and Television Facilities

Facilities for simultaneous translation from English to French and French to English have been installed in the opera house, the theatre and the studio. All three can be adapted for radio and television broadcasting and can be used for the screening of films. Ticket-holders who come late can follow performances on closed-circuit TV in the foyers. The closed circuit also serves the Centre's offices and the backstage areas.

Refreshments are obtainable in a gourmet restaurant called L'Opéra, which overlooks the main lobby and seats 120, in Le Café, which seats 115, and in the 29-seat coffee-house called Le Bistro. Of the 12 bars, which are open during intermissions, six are permanent and six are mobile. Each level of the opera house has a bar of its own.



The east side of the National Arts Centre, bordering the Rideau Canal, with the East Block and Peace Tower of Ottawa's Parliament Buildings visible in the background.

When no performances are taking place in the theatres, their lobbies can be used for banquets seating up to 1,000 guests. Similarly, the salon, when not in use for its primary purpose, can be rented for catered affairs.

The three-storey parking area can be approached from three directions. Patrons will enter the foyers from the garage by escalators or stairways.

Works of Art

The National Arts Centre Corporation has spent more than \$500,000 on works of art. Two of these have already been mentioned in describing the salon. On the main terrace stands an abstract sculpture 25 feet long, 10½ feet high and 4 feet wide by Charles Daudelin of Montreal. In the main foyer is a 7-foot bronze, representing the three Graces, by Ossip Zadkine of Paris. Other works incorporated in the general design of the Centre are tapestries, murals and stage-curtains, as well as the decoration of the concert-hall ceiling and a fountain in the theatre lobby.

A complex system of air-conditioning ensures comfortable temperatures for performers, audiences and technicians in all kinds of weather. To prevent the sound of the engines being heard during performances, some walls have

been built as much as a foot thick, spring mountings have been provided for pipes and ducts, and walls containing ducts have been soundproofed.

The festival included, besides the three ballets already mentioned, concerts by the Toronto and Montreal Symphony Orchestras and recitals by the singer-composer Gordon Lightfoot and the French-Canadian *chanteuse* Monique Leyrac. The drama was represented by a French production of Aristophanes' *Lysistrata* (subtitled "Make Love, Not War") by Le Théâtre du Nouveau Monde and a play by the Canadian dramatist George Ryga, *The Ecstasy of Rita Joe*, both staged in the 800-seat theatre. Dramatic and musical works on a smaller scale were performed in the studio and the salon. The terraces were the scene of free popular entertainment throughout the festival.

Subsequent Events

Following the close of the festival, a light summer schedule began, which will continue through Labour Day. It features concerts by popular Canadian artists and by such international personalities as Harry Belafonte, as well as "pop" concerts by the Montreal Symphony, light musicals and films.

During the summer, a mobile children's theatre called "The Portage" will operate out of the National Arts Centre, touring Ottawa's playgrounds and parks with a dramatic version of the Pied Piper legend. This vehicle, which, on the road, looks like an ordinary truck-trailer, is transformed into a playhouse when its aluminum sides are dropped to form a stage. "The Portage" is a fully-equipped theatrical unit, with its own sound and light systems, control-room, dressing rooms, and storage space.

The Centre's first regular season will be the winter of 1969-70, from September to May. Many international theatrical and musical celebrities will appear on the various stages. There will be a resident French-language theatre company and a resident orchestra.

Le Théâtre du Capricorne, Canada's first professional French-language theatrical company based outside Montreal, will present during the season Durrenmatt's *La Visite de la Vieille Dame*, Molière's *Les Fourberies de Scapin* and *Au Cœur de la Rose*, by the Canadian playwright Pierre Perrault.

The 45-piece Arts Centre Orchestra will be under the direction of Mario Bernardi, a Canadian who has been since 1963 music director of Britain's Sadler's Wells Opera.

The Stratford National Theatre Company has agreed to present regular winter programmes at the Centre. Between October 20 and November 15, the company will stage two plays from its 1969 summer schedule, chosen from among *Hamlet*, *Tartuffe*, *Measure for Measure* and *The Alchemist*. From February 1 to 28, the company will perform two new Canadian plays. Concurrent activities of the Stratford players will include tours of schools in the Ottawa area, the presentation of a children's Christmas programme at the Centre and experimental productions in the studio.

Defence Policy and Foreign Policy

The following passages are from a speech by Prime Minister Pierre Elliott Trudeau on April 12, 1969, to the Alberta Liberal Association in Calgary, Alberta :

Our decisions of last week in the area of foreign policy, in the area of our defence policy, the announcement we made about NATO . . . are very important and very far-reaching. They are far-reaching in terms of time and in terms of space. In terms of time because, when you make a decision to reorient your foreign policy, it will last for quite a while. Our last reorientation lasted, I suppose, a generation. It is important in terms of space too. In Canada, the foreign policy we shall embark upon will concern every Canadian, rich or poor, Easterner or Westerner. It will concern our allies in all parts of the world, our friends, those who believe in the same principles as we do.

Our foreign policy, the one we are defining for Canada, is also very important for another reason. Our defence budget, as you know, is one-sixth of the total budget. That's a lot of money — \$1,800 million for defence. And it's a lot of money especially when you realize that it's accompanied with a great deal of uncertainty on the part of Canadians. There is a tendency in the past few years, when more money is needed for housing or more money is needed for anti-pollution schemes or more money is needed for social welfare legislation, for every form of expenditure in Canada (a project here, a research grant there), on the part of individuals, on the part of institutions and on the part of provincial governments, to say to the Federal Government "Spend less on defence, you'll have more for this other worthwhile project" — whether it be education or health or housing or urban growth. There is a tendency on the part of all Canadians to say "Take it away from defence, you will have more money for the worthwhile things" (implying, I suppose — and this comes as I say from many institutions and even from provincial governments — that the money we spend on defence is not well spent).

Now this may be so, and if it *is* so it is important that we correct it. It is important that we realize that the sixth of our national budget which is spent on defence is not an expenditure which is accepted as justifiable by a significant proportion of the Canadian people — or even the military themselves. I cut out a clipping on April 8, a Canadian Press story, saying that at least 40 per cent of the graduates of the Canada's military colleges leave the armed forces at their first opportunity; 40 per cent of all those who are being trained at the taxpayers' expense to become the *élite*, the *cadre*, of our armed forces, leave before they can serve in the armed forces. This means that even in the military themselves there is an implication that our foreign policy and the defence policy that flows from it is not one which convinces them that their career, the military career, is a good one.

Well, what should we do about it? Are we spending too much money or are we spending too little? This is the kind of question we have been asking ourselves in Ottawa, this is the kind of question that during the election, last spring, I said that we should deal with in this Government. And we are doing it now. Our first decision we announced last week, and I want to explain to you the significance of it.

Aim of Foreign Policy

These decisions in the areas of foreign policy are extremely important, then, for these reasons, and they are important also because of the objectives. What we want to do with this \$1,800 million is to defend Canadian sovereignty and to contribute towards world peace. Why else would Canadians want to spend money on defence? We don't want to go to war with anybody. These are the aims, then, of our foreign policy, to serve our national interests, and when I say national interests I am not thinking in any egotistical sense of just what's happening to Canadians. It's in our national interest to reduce the tensions in the world, tensions which spring from the two-thirds of the world's population who go to bed hungry every night, the two-thirds of the world's population who are poor whereas the other third is rich, and the tensions which spring from this great ideological struggle between the East and the West. This is the aim of our foreign policy; it is to serve our national interest and to express our national identity abroad so that other countries know us. They know what we stand for, they know what our interests are and what our values are, in the economic sphere, in the cultural sphere, in the social sphere, in the ideological sphere. This is what our foreign policy is all about.

And this is what we have been examining in the past several months in Ottawa. And some people think it is taking too long. But it will take longer, because you only re-examine your foreign policy once in a generation. You can't switch every year, you can't switch after every election.

We promised during the last election to re-examine our foreign policy, because the data, because the objective situation, have changed, because the Canadian requirements have changed over the past generation. We're beginning to realize now that we're not a one-ocean country, not an Atlantic country, not even a two-ocean country, an Atlantic and a Pacific — we're a three-ocean country. We're beginning to realize that this Pacific seaboard is more important to Canadians than we realized in the past. We're beginning to realize that countries like Japan, like China, like Australia, and those on the Pacific coast of South America, are as important partners for Canadians as the nations across the Atlantic. And we're beginning to realize that in the Arctic Canadian interests are very great and that there are not only ice and barren lands up there but that there is oil and there are minerals and there is untold wealth.

And we're beginning to realize too in the cultural sphere that *la francophonie* is important and that part of our national identity is having a bilingual

country, and that, if it is important that we remain in the British Commonwealth of Nations, it is important also that we express our identity in the French-speaking countries, those that form *la francophonie*.

Changing Strategic Factors

And we are realizing too that the strategic factors making for peace or threatening war have changed immensely in a generation, and that the existence of ICBMs which are pre-targeted on all the major European and North American cities and which can spell immediate destruction if they are ever unleashed is a new factor. And that there is a very delicate balance, a balance of deterrent forces, between the two poles of military strength on this planet of today, and this is a new factor.

And we realize that all these factors are "inputs" in our foreign policy, and that we can't go on as we did in the past with the same foreign policy. Before the Second World War, it is said, we practically had no foreign policy, we were too small a country in terms of population and in wealth, and our foreign policy wasn't very different from that of the United States or of the United Kingdom, providing they had the same foreign policy, and when their interests diverged or were divergent, well, we tacked onto one or onto the other. So before the Second World War we didn't have a very distinct foreign policy.

After the Second World War, we were faced with a Europe which was divided into two power blocs, hostile, a Europe which had been impoverished and destroyed by war, and we realized that the tensions in Europe could be the most destructive ones for a lasting peace. And it's at that time that Canada, along with other countries, realizing the principal threat to peace was Soviet aggression, helped set up NATO as an answer to that possibility of aggression. And it's at that time that NATO was developed as a very important policy for peace in the world because Europe at that time (a Europe which had been destroyed, I repeat, by the war) had to be strengthened and had to be fortified against the danger of aggression. And, as a result of that, NATO became practically all of our foreign policy. Until then our foreign policy was that of the United States or of the United Kingdom. But since '49 our foreign policy has taken on a new dimension. That was the dimension of NATO, a dimension wherein we could talk to other countries in Europe which had more or less the same values as ourselves but which had the same interest of stopping any possibility of Soviet aggression.

Twenty years later, today, Europe has been rebuilt. The gross national product of the NATO countries in Europe is over \$500 billion. The population, 300 million people. Canada's contribution to this Europe, important though it has been and important though it remains, is marginal — 20 million people against 300 million. Our defence policy, which flowed from this foreign policy of NATO, now was more to impress our friends than frighten our enemies. Our

contribution in Europe, which was brought in the early years after the Second World War, was very important then; it is marginal now in terms of strict military strength — one mechanized division against perhaps 80 or 55, depending how you count them. This is our contribution. It is important; I am not trying to belittle it. But we have to remain free to decide our own foreign policy. And, when we are told that we shouldn't be taking a free ride to peace in the world, when we are told that if we withdraw from NATO even in any degree this will lead other countries to withdraw from NATO, I don't admit this. I don't admit that Europeans or even Americans won't follow their own wisdom, that they don't have their own foreign policy. And I don't admit that our friends and allies will be guided in their decisions and determined in their actions by what Canadians do, and if they think that we are doing the wrong thing that they will imitate us just because we have done it. I don't believe this. I believe that each country must have its own foreign policy. And in our case, where our contribution to Europe, I repeat, is marginal, but where we still believe that NATO is an important force in the world, we are entitled, we have a right, to ask questions about our participation in NATO.

In 1949, when we set up NATO, I think it was true that we could not wait for political settlements in order to meet the security issue, because the security issue was the number one issue. But 20 years later I should be inclined to say that we can't wait until all the problems of security have been settled before we tackle the political issues of peace in the world. And it so happened that NATO after 20 years in our opinion had developed too much into a military alliance and not enough into a political alliance, not enough into an alliance which is interested not only in keeping that balance of deterrence of tactical power in Europe but into an alliance which is interested in arms control and de-escalation.

Undue Influence of NATO

And I am afraid, in the situation which we had reached, NATO had in reality determined all of our defence policy. We had no defence policy, so to speak except that of NATO. And our defence policy had determined all of our foreign policy. And we had no foreign policy of any importance except that which flowed from NATO. And this is a false perspective for any country. It is a false perspective to have a military alliance determine your foreign policy. It should be your foreign policy which determines your military policy.

So all we have done — and it is pretty important — last week in Ottawa, was to stand the pyramid on its base. It was standing on its head. We have decided to review our foreign policy and to have a defence policy flow from that, and from the defence policy to decide which alliances we want to belong to, and how our defences should be deployed. And that is why we gave a series of four priorities. In our statement last week, we said that the first

priority for Canadians was not NATO, important though it is, and we have said that we wanted to remain aligned in NATO with those countries who believe in deterring Soviet aggression in Europe. But this is not our first priority. Our first priority in our defence policy is the protection of Canadian sovereignty, in all the dimensions that it means.

And I don't accept the criticism of those who say this is a return to isolationism, or this is a return to the "fortress America" conception. This is not our purpose and this is not our aim.

What we are doing in our foreign policy, and what we are doing in our defence policy, we shall do by discussing with our allies, and we shall explain to them that our contribution is in order to promote the values which they are promoting in NATO — values of freedom and of liberty. And this is what we are aiming for first.

No Isolation for Canada

But it is false to talk of isolationism when you think of Canada, which is territorially one of the largest countries in the world, the second in terms of its land space, and which has a very small population in terms of the middle and great powers. It is absurd to say that this is isolationism because we are not on all the fronts of the world, political and military, fighting with other people. You can't talk of isolationism of Canadians because, with the small manpower we have, with the economic means we have, we say we want to use the first part of it in terms of our own sovereignty, the second part of it in terms of the defence of our territory and of the continent, and the third part of it in defence of other alliances such as NATO, such as peacekeeping operations which we shall embark upon, and we have embarked upon, through the United Nations. We need our armed forces in order to perform these roles, but in degrees determined by our foreign policy. We don't want a military alliance or a defence policy to pre-empt all our choices.

That is why we decided last week to announce what I call Phase One of our defence policy, saying that we were not neutralists and we were not pacifists, we believed in aligning ourselves with countries who want to protect the same kind of values as we do in the world, but we want to do this by leaving also our military options opened to these four priorities. And that is why we shall not say, until our foreign policy has been determined and presented to Parliament and presented to the country, in a final way what forces we shall put into NATO and what forces we shall draw out at NATO. It is our foreign policy which must come first, and not the defence policy and not the military alliance.

That is why last week, because of the dead-lines, because there was a meeting of the foreign ministers of NATO countries in Washington, we had to state our general position. And we did. We stated we were remaining in NATO but we would not be pressed into making decisions now about our

contributions to NATO — which, I repeat, we shall only make after our foreign policy has been determined overall. This is going apace. We have made several announcements. We have talked about recognizing Peking; we have talked about our policy in South America; we have even talked about the Vatican, to the scandal of a lot of people. We have talked of a lot of areas where we are reassessing our foreign policy. But, until this policy has been presented, I repeat, to the Canadian people, we shall not close our options and say that all of our military strength will be oriented towards NATO.

Right to Question

We have a right to ask questions of our allies. If they want to keep us on these terms, we shall be very happy because we want to keep our friends in NATO. We want to continue “dialoguing” with them in the political sense. We want to keep these channels of communication open. We want to keep friends in Europe. But we don’t want their military policy to determine our foreign policy. That’s why we shall ask questions. It’s right now, I believe, that we ask questions of ourselves about NATO and we ask questions of our allies about NATO.

Is an armoured brigade the right kind of contribution Canadians *should* make to Europe, *could* make to NATO? Is an armoured brigade, which can only be used in the plains of northern Germany, the right kind of contribution for Canadians to make? Is our squadron of CF-104s, which can be armed with conventional bombs or with nuclear bombs, the right kind of contribution? And what is the scenario for using nuclear arms in Europe, in our bombers, in our CF-104s? Do we want to participate in this way in an alliance without knowing in which way these so-called tactical weapons will be used? And has the scenario ever been explained to you, to the Canadian people, as to under what conditions our aircraft would fly nuclear weapons and unleash them on Europe? Will it only be as a second-strike, will it only be as a deterrent? Are these 104s soft targets? In the eyes of the Soviets, in the eyes of the Warsaw Pact countries, are they not entitled to ask themselves: “Well, what are these 104s flown by Canadians going to serve? Are they going to be first-strike or second-strike? Is it likely that they will be second-strike? They are soft targets, they are on the ground, we know where the airfields are. Isn’t it likely that they might be used to attack us first?” These are the questions that our enemies, the Soviets, are asking themselves, and these are the questions we are asking of our allies.

Naval Questions

Our contribution in the naval area to our anti-submarine warfare — is this the right contribution? Should we be having the kind of naval force which is prepared to destroy the Soviet nuclear-armed submarines, which are a deterrent for them as the *Polaris* is a deterrent for the United States? The United States has

Polaris submarines in the oceans and will use them if attacked first, and if the American cities are destroyed the Americans know that they have their submarines as a second-strike capacity. And this strengthens the second-strike capacity of the United States. This is part of the balance of terror. This permits the Americans to say to the Soviets: "If you start first, we can still destroy you with our submarines." But the Soviets say the same thing: "If you Americans start first with your ICBMs, we can still destroy you with our submarines." The submarines are by nature, I suppose, in this capacity — they are second-strike, they are deterrent. Is our policy right to be armed essentially against them?

These are the questions we want to ask of our allies, and we want to decide what our contribution in NATO will be. I am not promising any revolutionary changes. There may be some and they may not be very great. But I say that whatever our contribution will be in a military sense will flow from our foreign policy. And that is the purpose that our Government, your Government, is pursuing in Ottawa. It is an attempt to redefine our policies in all spheres. We have done it in the cultural, in the constitutional, in the trade spheres. We are doing it in the area of our foreign policy and of our defence policy.

I wanted to talk to you about these things tonight . . . because these things are the problems which we are trying to solve, which we are trying to inquire into in Ottawa. And, as Canadians especially, these are problems which will determine not only our future but the future perhaps of a great part of mankind. It is these problems, problems of East and West tensions, problems of North and South tensions, problems between the rich and the poor, problems which arise in our own country, problems of the protection of our sovereignty, problems of contribution to peace, to peace-keeping — these are the problems we are asking ourselves to solve and these are the problems we want to discuss with the people of Canada. Because the solutions we shall find will be important for every Canadian, not only the military.

I think the people who are in the armed forces have a right to know where we are going. And, when I was reading this statistic a moment ago about 40 per cent of those we trained to be officers leaving the armed forces, this is not because we made a decision last week. This is because over the years they feel that Canadians have no deep confidence, no deep belief, no deep respect even, for the kind of military role we are playing now. It is important that we redefine it, it is important that we believe in it. If we don't have a belief in it, we should tell the people who are devoting their lives in the armed service of the country: "There is no future for you. We are going to be a pacifist nation, or we are going to pull out of all alliances, or we are only going to need some forces in Canada in aid of the civil power." They have a right to know from us what their future is. Over the past several years, the armed forces have been losing very good men because they did not know where Canadians were going in their foreign policy. And I repeat what I said at the outset, they didn't know that

because many taxpayers — and I met some of them out tonight though many were too young to be taxpayers — but many people in our universities, many people in our financial circles, many people in our provincial governments, are saying we are spending too much on defence. Perhaps, and perhaps not.

But we want to make sure, and this is the whole purpose of the review of our foreign policy — we want to make sure that whatever we do is understood by Canadians, whatever we do is justified in terms of the political decisions we have made, whatever we do is a result of honest men in government looking for the best ways in which they can not only protect Canadian sovereignty but contribute to peace in the world.

Canada's Relations with Latin America

THE Canadian ministerial mission that visited nine Latin American countries in October and November 1968 was made up of representatives from several departments of the Federal Government and from several federal agencies; its object was to emphasize the desire of the Canadian Government to achieve, through direct contact with Latin American leaders, closer relations between their countries and Canada. It was thought that, to be fully successful, this effort at *rapprochement* within the context of the revised Canadian foreign-relations policy should also give persons and groups from Canada interested in Latin America an opportunity to add their ideas and special knowledge to the experience of the members of the mission.

It was with the aim of providing a framework for such exchanges of ideas that the Canadian Institute of International Affairs organized, in co-operation with the Department of External Affairs, a conference on Canadian relations with Latin America, which was held at the Guild Inn, Scarborough, Ontario, on March 7, 8 and 9, 1969. From the outset, it was a matter of establishing contact between, on the one hand, various federal public servants who had taken part in the mission and who formed part of the task force on Latin America responsible for forming the new Canadian policy toward that region, and, on the other hand, representatives of the university and business worlds and the press. Thus the Secretary of State for External Affairs, Mr. Mitchell Sharp, as well as the Under-Secretary and representatives of several branches of the Department, together with Canada's Ambassadors to Mexico and Cuba, contributed to the colloquium. For the Government's part, the Canadian International Development Agency, the Export Credits Insurance Corporation and the Department of Finance, as well as the Departments of Industry, Trade and Commerce and of the Secretary of State, were also represented. Non-governmental organizations were represented by a dozen university professors and some newspapermen and businessmen, as well as several specialists in Latin American affairs.

Subjects Under Discussion

The three main subjects the organizers wished to have examined — policy, aid and development, and cultural relations — were so closely bound up together, and it was so difficult for the participants in the conference to discuss them separately, that all exchanges took place in plenary session, though provision had been made for small work groups. The working documents that had been prepared by the government representatives and their academic and press counterparts were thus commented on by all participants.

The various aspects of present and future Canadian relations with Latin America were subjected to general consideration in depth. Though it is certain

that the idea of giving, in future, greater importance to Canadian relations with Latin America received almost unanimous support from the participants in the conference, other aspects of these relations, too, produced animated discussion that gave the specialists responsible for reviewing external-relations policies some idea of the complexity of the questions and of the variety of orientations that such policies could undergo.

For example, parallel study was given to the possibilities of building Canada's relations with Latin America on bilateral bases, multilateral bases or regional bases. There was the question of whether Latin America belonged to the "third world" or to the "Western world". A start was made on various priority values with regard to the type of development aid to be offered, and it was thought desirable to re-define the role of the development agencies. Attention was given to the state of trade within the present context and to the orientation that commerce could be given in the coming years. An attempt was made to define the cultural ties linking Canada with the Latin American continent. And, of course, there was a long discussion on the desirability of Canada's becoming a member of the Organization of American States, both the advantages and disadvantages of such action being stressed, as well as the existing alternatives.

Briefly, the Canadian Institute of International Affairs gave the ministerial mission another window on the world and let its members take the pulse of the professors, the businessmen and the newspapermen in Canada who had a direct interest in Latin America and a real knowledge of that continent, its culture and its needs.

Canada's Latin America policy will, then, be based on direct contact with the continent to the south and on a frank and open exchange of views with Canadians who, through personal travel experience and because of their vocations, are able to grasp the great importance in today's world of understanding and of international friendship within the Americas.

The International Labour Organization ⁽¹⁾

HISTORY AND DEVELOPMENT

ABOUT two months after the end of the First World War in 1919, representatives of the victorious and defeated powers gathered in Paris to begin work on the peace treaties to guarantee that the world would never again be subjected to such a conflict.

The grand designs for a lasting peace emerging from the Paris Conference were embodied in the establishment of the League of Nations. While subsequent events were to prove this ambitious undertaking a failure, the League did leave a legacy to the world — an international body dedicated to the task of improving social and working conditions for people everywhere.

This year, the International Labour Organization marks its fiftieth anniversary. Now a Specialized Agency of the United Nations, this unique organization composed of government, worker and employer representatives from 118 countries can look back on a half-century of accomplishment that saw its influence spread from Europe to every part of the world.

Today, from headquarters on the shores of Lake Geneva in Switzerland, the operations of the ILO are carried out under the guidance of its fifth Director-General, David A. Morse. The years between the terms of the present Director and the first, Albert Thomas of France, have seen the ILO enlarge the scope of its role from simply a standard-setting body to one which takes direct, participatory action to achieve the modern, universal goals: continuing improvement in the standard of living for men and women everywhere; the elimination of ignorance, misery and poverty; and the attainment of world security and peace.

The Organization

The structure of the International Labour Organization remains basically the same as that established in 1919. The three main elements are the International Labour Conference, the Governing Body and the permanent secretariat, the International Labour Office.

Each member country sends four delegates — two from government and one each from employers and workers — to the annual International Labour Conference, usually held in Geneva. The Conference examines social and labour problems and adopts conventions and recommendations for submission to the governments of member countries. It also elects, every three years, the 48-member Governing Body made up of 24 government representatives and 12 each from employers and workers.

The Governing Body, which normally meets four times a year, supervises the work of the International Labour Office, headed by a Director-General.

(1) This article is the first of a series prepared to mark the fiftieth anniversary of the ILO.

The Office is responsible for the execution of the year-round programme, which includes such tasks as conducting research and preparing reports, carrying out inspections, guiding the work of experts involved in technical assistance projects and publishing periodicals. The Office employs a staff of 2,000, representing 90 nations, at the Geneva headquarters and ILO offices around the world.

As noted earlier, the deliberations of the International Labour Conference eventually take the form of conventions and recommendations. There are important differences between the two. A convention is a draft international treaty, adoption of which by the Conference imposes specific obligations on member countries. They must place conventions before the governments for legislation or other action. If the government of a country ratifies a convention through legislation, its provisions are binding and reports on their application and practice must be made at specified intervals.

On the other hand, a recommendation is a proposal by the Conference that member countries apply certain standards. There is no provision for ratification as with conventions, but recommendations must be placed before the member country governments and reported on periodically.

International Labour Code

To date, the International Labour Organization has adopted 128 conventions and 132 recommendations, which have come to be known collectively as the International Labour Code. It encompasses a broad area with subjects ranging from hours of work, child labour and women's work to industrial health, safety and welfare, social security, the special problems of seamen, employment and unemployment, labour administration and industrial relations.

While the total of some 3,400 convention ratifications can be regarded as an impressive achievement, this alone does not provide a true measurement of the influence of conventions throughout the world. Paul Goulet, a Canadian Government delegate to the 1949 Conference, drew attention to this point when he said :

...ratifications of ILO conventions, vital as they are, do not begin to tell the story of the progress in human welfare that the ILO has helped to activate. For whether they are ratified immediately or not, these conventions establish guidemarks for the future course of the world's social policy.

The development of international conventions, however, no longer constitutes the principal activity of the ILO. Since the 1950s, it has become more and more an "operational" body to the point where today ILO experts are participating directly in programmes ranging from technical assistance projects to fact-finding missions to operation of the Institute for Labour Studies in Geneva. And to mark the beginning of the sixth decade of service, the Organization has embarked on its most ambitious project to date — the World Employment Programme aimed at eliminating poverty in Latin America, Asia and Africa.

Early Movements

As far back as 1818, social reformers in France, Britain and Switzerland were

calling attention to the need for a body to deal with labour conditions on an international scale. It remained for Switzerland to persist in the fight and its Government was responsible for calling the first international conference at Berlin in 1889. The meeting was attended by 47 delegates from 13 European countries. It was a reflection of existing conditions that they dealt with matters such as the minimum age for children working in the mines (14) and in factories (12), one day's rest in seven, and an 11-hour limit on the working day.

Though the six resolutions adopted at the Berlin conference carried no treaty obligations, the meeting itself attracted considerable public interest in Europe. However, the follow-up results were disappointing. No further meetings were held and the interchange of information agreed on among the countries failed to materialize. It fell to a group of private individuals, appalled by the harshness of labour conditions, to provide the driving force that eventually resulted in the establishment of the ILO.

In 1900, this group of social workers, academics, industrial workers and government officials formed the International Association for Labour Legislation, with a secretariat in Berne and several national branches. Their agitation resulted in the European governments convening another international conference at Berne in 1905 and a follow-up meeting a year later. The Berne conferences produced the first two international conventions dealing with night work for women and the dreaded industrial disease, phosphorous necrosis, which caused painful decay to the teeth and jawbones of workers exposed to white phosphorous used in the manufacture of matches.

The Phosphorous Convention foreshadowed the far-reaching effect this type of international agreement would have in the years ahead. Though only European countries were represented at the meeting, Britain and France applied the convention to their colonial possessions. The United States Congress, too, banned the use of white phosphorous in 1911 and, three years later, Canada enacted similar legislation.

The International Association for Labour Legislation continued its fight for better labour conditions, but all activity came to a stop with the outbreak of the First World War in 1914.

Birth of ILO

After the war, when the Allied powers met in Paris to draw up the peace treaties, it was generally agreed that some sort of recognition would have to be given to labour for the major contribution it had made to the war effort. A nine-country Commission on International Labour Legislation was formed and from its deliberations emerged the constitution and structure of the International Labour Organization. It would be a tripartite body composed of representatives from government, workers and employers operating autonomously within the framework of the League of Nations.

With the task of setting up the machinery completed, the ILO wasted little time in swinging into action. The first Conference opened in Washington on

October 19. The principal item on the agenda, the proposal for a convention on hours of work, proved a contentious issue. While there was a good deal of collective support for the eight-hour day, individual countries were hesitant to act alone because of possible adverse effects on international business competition.

It took weeks to hammer out the details of this convention, but when the vote was taken it passed by the comfortable margin of 82 to eight. Thus, hours of work became Convention No. 1 of the International Labour Organization. In all, the Washington Conference agreed to six conventions and six recommendations.

Now, with its first Conference completed, the fledgling body set to work establishing a permanent office to carry out its programme on a year-round basis. After working briefly out of Paris and London, the International Labour Office, under Director-General Albert Thomas, moved to what was to be its permanent home in Geneva. Thomas quickly recruited a staff of experts from many countries and the secretariat was soon at work establishing communications with member countries, compiling information on labour matters from all over the world and making it available publicly through reports and periodicals.

First Two Decades

The work of the ILO moved steadily ahead during the 1920s as Conference after Conference produced a flow of conventions and recommendations covering workmen's compensation, one day's rest in seven, sickness insurance, minimum wage-fixing machinery and factory inspection — among many other subjects. By the end of its first decade of operation, the ILO had held 12 conferences, attended by delegates from 40 to 50 countries, and adopted 29 conventions and 33 recommendations.

The coming of the great depression in the 1930s saw the ILO turn its attention to the problem of mass unemployment throughout the world. Among other measures, it called for the reduction of hours of work to create more employment, the establishment of social insurance and advance planning of public works programmes to relieve the distress of workers.

During the latter part of the same period, the ILO soon became aware of gathering war-clouds as Germany, Italy, Japan and Spain left the Organization and the League of Nations in quick succession. By 1939, an Emergency Committee had been established to carry on activities as far as possible in the event of war. This was soon to come. Germany invaded the Low Countries in May 1940, and the decision was made to move the headquarters out of Europe to a location where it could most effectively attempt to continue operations.

John Winant, the American Director-General, met with Prime Minister Mackenzie King and arrangements were made to set up the International Labour Office on the campus of McGill University in Montreal. However, the tempo of ILO activity hardly slackened. Its vast experience in labour and social question

proved valuable to the allied cause and the Office produced studies on a variety of matters ranging from manpower utilization, to wage and price controls, industrial fatigue and factory standards. Another important aspect of wartime activity was planning for post-war reconstruction.

This same period marked a milestone in the history of the ILO. In 1944, the International Conference produced the Declaration of Philadelphia, which defined the future role the Organization was to play in the service of labour. The declaration imposed on the ILO the obligation to participate directly in a series of world programmes dealing with full employment, raising of standards of living, social security, protection for the life and health of workers, recognition of the right to collective bargaining, and equality of educational and vocational opportunity. Thus it was that the endorsement of these broad objectives changed the direction of the ILO and enlarged its sphere of activity.

Canada was host to the second post-war conference held at the University of Montreal in 1946. It was there that the constitution was revised to give the Organization the necessary powers to carry out the new responsibilities outlined in the Declaration of Philadelphia. At Montreal, too, the decision was made to join the newly-organized United Nations as a Specialized Agency.

In 1948, the International Labour Office moved back to Geneva and the ILO began a new era that was to see it evolve into the instrument of broad social reform that it is today.

APPOINTMENTS, TRANSFERS AND RESIGNATIONS IN THE DEPARTMENT OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS

- Miss M. Franklin posted from Ottawa to the Office of the High Commissioner for Canada, Port-of-Spain, effective March 31, 1969.
- Mr. T. B. B. Wainman-Wood, Canadian Ambassador to Czechoslovakia, appointed concurrently Canadian Ambassador to Hungary, effective April 1, 1969.
- Mr. J. Orr appointed to the position of Scientific Attaché, London, effective April 1, 1969.
- Mr. R. L. Elliott posted from the Office of the High Commissioner for Canada, Lagos, to Ottawa, effective April 8, 1969.
- Mr. A. L. Graham posted from Ottawa to the Canadian Embassy, Havana, effective April 10, 1969.
- Mr. A. B. Bonnezen resigned from the Department of External Affairs, effective April 14, 1969.
- Mr. D. B. Hicks, High Commissioner for Canada to Ghana, accredited concurrently Canadian Ambassador to Upper Volta, effective April 15, 1969.
- Mr. D. W. Munro, Canadian Ambassador to Costa Rica, appointed concurrently Canadian Ambassador to Panama, effective April 15, 1969.
- Mr. J. P. L. Bradet appointed to the Department of External Affairs as Foreign Service Officer 1, effective April 21, 1969.
- Mr. W. E. Whitley appointed to the Department of External Affairs as Solicitor 4, effective April 21, 1969.
- Mr. B. Dubé resigned from the Department of External Affairs, effective April 22, 1969.
- Mr. P. de W. Wilson posted from the Canadian Embassy, Tokyo, to Ottawa, effective April 23, 1969.
- Miss P. Cordingley posted from the Office of the High Commissioner for Canada, Port-of-Spain, to Ottawa, effective April 25, 1969.
- Mr. R. Martel resigned from the Department of External Affairs, effective April 29, 1969.
- Mr. D. H. W. Kirkwood resigned from the Department of External Affairs, effective April 30, 1969.

EXTERNAL AFFAIRS

*External Affairs is issued monthly in English and French by the
Department of External Affairs, Ottawa.*

*It provides reference material on Canada's external relations
and reports the current work and activities of the Department.*

Any material in this publication may be reproduced.

Citation of External Affairs as the source would be appreciated.

*Subscription rates: Canada, the United States and Mexico,
\$2.00 a year; other countries, \$2.50; students in Canada,
the United States and Mexico, \$1.00 a year; in other
countries, \$1.50. Subscriptions are sent post free.*

*Remittances, payable to the Receiver General of Canada,
should be sent to the Queen's Printer, Ottawa, Canada.*

*Authorized as Second Class Mail, Post Office Department,
Ottawa.*

Published by authority of
the Honourable Mitchell Sharp,
Secretary of State for External Affairs

Vol. XXI, No. 7

Contents

July 1969

The International Labor Organization	266
Toward Justice, Amity, Co-operation and Understanding Among Peoples	269
The Toronto Symphony Tours Japan	274
Visit of Australian Parliamentary Mission	276
The Senate Special Committee on Science Policy	278
Canada and the Countries of Latin America	284
Canadian Cultural Institute in Rome	295
Niagara Cataract to be Renovated	296
<i>External Affairs in Parliament</i>	
Tour of Scandinavia	297
Conferences	300
<i>Appointments, Transfers and Resignations in the Department of External Affairs</i>	
	301
Treaty Information	303

The International Labor Organization

STRUCTURE AND FUNCTION

THOSE who founded the ILO were determined that employers' and workers' representatives should take part in all its activities at every level, side by side with the representatives of governments, and on a footing of equality. The composition of the General Conference, the Governing Body, the regional conferences and the specialized committees is evidence of this intention.

According to the letter and the spirit of the constitution, the work of the ILO is a joint undertaking by governments, employers and workers of the member states.

Founded in 1919, it has 118 members today.

Its tripartite structure is unique. The Governing Body comprises 48 members, 24 seats being held by government representatives and 12 each by workers' and employers' representatives. Ten of the 24 countries on the Governing Body hold permanent seats by virtue of their being "states of chief industrial importance". At present, they are Canada, China, France, West Germany, India, Italy, Japan, the Soviet Union, the United States and Britain.

During the ILO's history, some 20 Canadians have served as members of the Governing Body, and three of these have been elected chairmen: Dr. W. A. Riddell, Mr. A. H. Brown and Dr. George V. Haythorne.

The General Conference, which is held once a year, usually in Geneva, constitutes the supreme deliberative body of the ILO. Each member country sends two government delegates, one employers' delegate and one workers' delegate.

Conference Voting

A special balloting system provides equity in decision-making during committee sessions of the General Conference. This consists, in essence, of applying a common-denominator figure which embraces the particular total of delegates attending any particular General Conference. For example, if there were 50 delegates from governments, 20 from workers' organizations and 10 from employers' organizations, the common denominator would be 100, and the number of votes allowed each grouping of delegates would be in proportion to that total common denominator of 100. The initiator of this system was one of the numerous Canadians who have played a prominent role in ILO affairs, Dr. W. A. Riddell. (Dr. Riddell, who died in 1963 at the age of 81 was Ontario deputy minister of labor when the ILO was founded. In 1920 he went to Geneva as the chief of the newly-established agricultural service subsequently holding a variety of offices during his diplomatic career, including his appointment in 1940 as Canada's first High Commissioner to New Zealand.

The ILO is essentially an exercise in human relations. Its fundamental assumption is the right of every human being, irrespective of race, creed or sex, to seek spiritual fulfilment and material well-being in conditions of freedom and dignity, economic security and equal opportunity.

Executing the programs based on this assumption are about 1,500 employees of the International Labor Office, drawn from some 90 countries and headed by the Director-General, David A. Morse of the United States. ⁽¹⁾

The ILO today has an annual budget of over \$25 million. It has access also to another \$10 million to \$15 million from the United Nations Development Program, the Special Fund and the expanded programs of technical assistance.

International Standards

One of the main tasks of the ILO is the setting of international labor standards, which are established at the annual General Conference and take the form of conventions and recommendations. A total of 128 conventions and 132 recommendations have been adopted since 1919. Together they form the International Labor Code.

Conventions are required to be submitted to national governments within a year or 18 months of their adoption by the General Conference. If approved, they are ratified by the governments concerned and become legal obligations on those governments. Recommendations, though adopted by the Conference, are not required to be ratified by the member states, and therefore do not constitute legal obligations.

Since Canada is a federal, rather than a unitary state, and its provinces exercise considerable jurisdiction over industrial relations matters, the approval of the provinces must be obtained before an ILO convention may be ratified, except in those cases where the concern of the convention is with matters coming solely within federal jurisdiction. Understandably, Canada and other countries similarly organized often lag behind the unitary states in the ratification of conventions. In Canada, an active program of studies and consultation is being carried out by federal and provincial authorities advancing the ratification of conventions.

Ratification of a convention imposes an obligation to report annually to the Labor Organization office in Geneva on its application. These reports are studied by the ILO secretariat, by a special committee of experts and finally by the Conference itself.

Thus a voluntary system of control and inspection has gradually been built up which has proved effective.

The present day emphasis of the ILO is placed on operational activities, particularly technical co-operation.

In order to secure wider representation to all states in the operation of the ILO's machinery, a wholly new system of regional conferences has been

(1) The International Labor Office is the permanent secretariat of the International Labor Organization.

devised. In addition, special committees have been created within the Governing Body to emphasize the ILO's interest in regional needs and activities. The Asian, Inter-American and African advisory committees, elected by the General Conference, meet regularly each year to supervise the activities of the ILO in their various regions and to prepare the sessions of the regional conferences. Canadians are involved in most of the committee deliberations in the American region.

As the ILO enters its second half-century, it has two main commitments — to peace and to freedom. It must live up to its motto : "Poverty anywhere constitutes a danger to prosperity everywhere."

Its task is by no means likely to diminish in the years to come. Its programs in the areas of its recognized competence will probably be expanded with application of the United Nations covenants on economic, social and cultural rights and on civil and political rights that the ILO has long dealt with. Its control procedures will be put to good use.

Toward Justice, Amity, Co-operation and Understanding Among Peoples

SPEECH BY THE HONORABLE MITCHELL SHARP, SECRETARY OF STATE
FOR EXTERNAL AFFAIRS, AT THE BROTHERHOOD BANQUET OF THE
BETH EMETH BAIS YEHUDA SYNAGOGUE, TORONTO, MAY 5, 1969.

THERE is a cynical view of foreign ministers and those who engage in international affairs. I recall to your mind, for example, the famous definition of the ambassador as an honest man sent abroad to lie for the good of this country. Plato, himself, conceded that government leaders should have the privilege of lying, either at home or abroad, for the good of the state.

So you will see why, as a foreign minister, I feel so honored to be asked to be among those who seek to promote justice, amity, co-operation and understanding among peoples. It is a rare tribute, and one that I shall always cherish.

You can well believe that, in carrying out their duties, foreign ministers, however well-intentioned and however dedicated they may be to the promotion of justice, amity, co-operation and understanding among peoples, are often faced with moral dilemmas and difficult choices. This is true even of the Foreign Minister of Canada, one of the most fortunate of countries, free from foreign occupation, internal revolution and involvement in foreign wars.

How can this country best promote justice, amity, co-operation and understanding among peoples?

My relatively short experience in this office has taught me at least one thing, and that is that it is not sufficient simply to be in favor of these good things or to make eloquent speeches in favor of them. I do not know of a single country, or a single foreign minister, that does not profess support for justice, amity, co-operation and understanding among peoples. As we all know, wars are nearly always justified as a means of attaining at least one of these worthy objectives.

No Identity of National Interests

The truth of the matter is that, while nation states and their leaders may be perfectly sincere in their protestations of goodwill towards mankind in general, they do not have identical interests. Conflict of interest is of the essence of relations between states, just as it is of the essence of relations between individuals and groups. That is the starting-point of any realistic approach to human affairs.

Canada does not have interests identical with those of the United States or with those of Britain or France, or of the Soviet Union. Our respective national interests come into conflict at many points and are bound to do so and,

the closer the relations, the more the points of conflict. Thus it is inevitable that, as the world contracts by reason of improved communications and grows more populous, the conflicts of interest between states will become more numerous, but let us hope not more serious.

We see the same thing going on in relations between people within states as their populations grow. The closer people come into contact with one another the more they come into conflict. Cities are more turbulent than the countryside.

This is not intended to be a pessimistic forecast of rising international and internal strife. Not at all. Conflicts need not become matters of strife; indeed, the aim of all men of goodwill is to do everything possible to ensure that conflicts are resolved peacefully and amicably

I make these general observations rather for the purpose of drawing attention to the nature of the problem of promoting justice, amity, co-operation and understanding amongst the peoples of the world. As I have said, it is not sufficient to favor these worthy objectives. Let us take it for granted that everyone is in favor in principle and move on to consider how to deal with the specific points on which there may not be such unanimous agreement.

To illustrate. The whole world is deeply shocked by the civil war in Nigeria. Canadians are foremost in their desire to see that tragic conflict brought to an end. What stands in the way? Certainly not any lack of support for the principles of justice, amity, co-operation and understanding. Our ears ring with eloquent and fervent pleas in the name of humanity. Both sides claim that theirs is a just cause.

Nigerian and Middle East Crises

What has stood in the way of peaceful settlement has been a fundamental conflict of interest. Nigeria wants to maintain the integrity of the state. Biafran leaders have insisted on independence. Until that conflict is resolved the war will go on.

Or consider the situation in the Middle East, which is so near to the hearts of many of you in this audience. Nowhere is there a better illustration of the fundamental and dangerous conflicts intensified by mutual distrust and suspicion that can exist between states and between peoples. Even the right to exist of the state of Israel has been challenged in the name of justice, notwithstanding its membership in the United Nations. These Arab-Israeli differences exist and somehow or other they must be resolved; otherwise peace cannot be secured in that troubled area.

Canada has actively supported the efforts of the United Nations to resolve this conflict, and has shared fully the burden of responsibility which has resulted from these efforts. Yet the problem — and the danger — are, if anything, greater than before. It is for this reason that we must continue to encourage the patient efforts of Ambassador Jarring, to which it is my hope that the current talks among the permanent members of the Security Council in New

York will make a constructive contribution. In the meantime, we should hope that both sides would avoid statements and actions which could only inhibit and delay the achievement of a settlement.

The same is true of the East-West confrontation in Europe. There is little to be gained by deploring that confrontation. It rests upon a serious conflict of interest between states that has not been resolved. The existence of NATO and the Warsaw Pact is a symptom of that conflict rather than a cause.

As I have said, conflict of interest is of the very essence of relations between states, as it is of relations between individuals and groups. The task confronting mankind is to find ways of resolving these conflicts. Without strife and without resort to the threat of violence.

It should not alarm us that there are conflicts of interest among Canadians. There are bound to be, and it is healthy that there should be because conflict can be a stimulus to constructive action. Conflict between union and management is often a stimulus to better working conditions and more efficient production. Conflict between political parties is often a stimulus to social advancement. The kinds of conflict that are futile and destructive and unnecessary are those that arise between white and colored, between Jew and Christian, between Protestant and Catholic, between French- and English-speaking, conflicts founded on ignorance and prejudice.

Your association has dedicated itself to seek by educational means to promote justice, amity, co-operation and understanding among people differing in race, religion or nationality. I congratulate you for having recognized the key importance of education. Conflicts based on ignorance and prejudice are the most intractable, the hardest to resolve, and it is only by the slow, difficult but sure process of education that we can do this.

As I have said, it is inevitable that states come into conflict and the closer their relations the more the points of conflict. It may seem paradoxical but it is nevertheless true that the closer and friendlier our relations have become with our great neighbour the United States the more numerous have been the points of conflict. Similarly, the fewest points of conflict arise between Canada and countries with which we have the least to do.

It is something like a man and his wife. The longer they live together and the more children they have the more they have to argue about, even if it is all friendly.

What complicate international relations enormously are conflicts that arise not because of real differences of national interest, which can be assessed and resolved, but because of mistrust and suspicion. And the tragedy is that the deliberate inculcation of mistrust and suspicion has become an accepted instrument of international politics.

Rationale of Overture to Peking

This is why it has seemed to the Canadian Government that one of the things

this country can do in international affairs is to help to break down the barriers and the isolation between nations that give rise to mistrust and suspicion, just as your association by its very existence helps to break down these barriers between individuals of different race, religion or nationality. That is why we are negotiating to exchange diplomats with the Chinese Government in Peking. We hope to help to bring those hundreds of millions of Chinese people more effectively into the international community. Perhaps others will follow our example. This is why, in Europe, Canada is actively seeking in appropriate fashion to develop contacts between the Communist and Western worlds — cultural contacts, trade contacts, co-operative projects — so that the necessary basis of confidence can be built up to allow for *détente* and the establishment of better and saner political relations between the world's two great power centers.

It is well to recognize, of course, that efforts to promote understanding will sometimes be resisted. There are those who prefer isolation, and even some who, as I have mentioned, deliberately create mistrust and suspicion to advance their ends. There is little doubt that one of the reasons for the Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia was the fear that the barriers were breaking down too rapidly, that the infection of freedom was spreading in Eastern Europe.

This is an illustration of one of the moral dilemmas facing nations and foreign ministers. How far is one justified in promoting justice, amity, co-operation and understanding if in so doing one is to invite repression of the very people one is trying to help?

The lesson of Hungary is one that will not soon be forgotten. Were the Hungarians misled into believing that Western support for their cause was more than moral support?

All foreign ministers, of all countries, are accused of being mealy-mouthed, of not speaking out boldly on behalf of the causes that are dear to the hearts of some of the citizens of their countries and even to their own hearts. It is an occupational hazard from which, so far as I can see, there is no escape. Condemn, they are urged — take the issue to the United Nations — break diplomatic relations — enforce sanctions — retaliate. There are occasions very few though, when this is an effective course to follow. But in international affairs, as in domestic affairs, discretion is more often the better part of valor and it is usually more useful in the end to proceed with patience and forbearance in pursuit of justice, amity, co-operation and understanding among peoples.

The international community is not like a gentleman's club that can expel a member who offends the code of the majority. Severance of diplomatic relations with a country does not make it disappear; it continues to share the globe with the rest of us. In nearly every case it is better to continue contact than to break it off, thereby giving up whatever opportunity there might be to influence the course of events there.

The international reputation of a country depends on its effectiveness. One essential element of effectiveness is to speak and act within the limits of one's powers. There are Canadians who, from time to time, call upon their Government to take a public stand on some issue that Canada cannot influence. To do this is simply to make a noise and at the same time to diminish our credibility in the international community. The effect is very much the same if Canada, or any other member, brings a resolution to the United Nations that has not the least possibility of gaining a reasonable measure of support. The reaction is that the member concerned should have been able to foresee what would happen. By going through the motions such a country will be judged either uninformed or imprudent. Its international influence will be reduced, its capacity to act effectively on some other issue lessened and the finding of a genuine solution may be jeopardized.

As you will have gathered, I do not have easy answers, for there are none. The search for peace and harmony among men is a never-ending search. All I can say is that it must be pursued even more relentlessly than ever before, because the consequences of failure to make progress could be so appalling.

As I see it, there are two directions in which we must move. The first, perhaps the most important in the long run, is to break down the barriers of prejudice and ignorance that divide men needlessly. This you understand. It is your objective. The second is to develop means for the settlement of international disputes and conflicts without war. There is no country which has given and continues to give more support to this objective than Canada. But I should be less than frank if I did not say that progress is slow and halting and sometimes there is none at all. Nor is this surprising. It is a reflection of the fact that mankind has not yet developed a world view or the means of bringing such a view to bear. But gradually, inexorably, all the forces of science and technology are moving us in that direction. Today we divide the air-waves among the nations; we make international laws about the use of space and the ocean-bed. All these arrangements require nations to limit the exercise of their national sovereignty

Canada will spare no effort in working toward this end at the United Nations and in all the contacts we have with other nations and groups of nations. Order in the world depends on many things but first and foremost on the prevention of war. This is Canada's first and greatest objective in foreign policy. It depends, too, on the eradication of poverty and the achievement of a reasonable standard of living for all the world's peoples. Canada made rather a late and uncertain start in this field, but we have moved quickly from that start and hope to move even more quickly in the future. I look with confidence to the time, not so far off, when Canada will play a leading part in international development, not in absolute terms, since we do not have the massive resources controlled by the super-powers, but in our imaginative use of the resources we do have, in our readiness to try new things, to listen to new ideas, to look beyond the horizon to a new day.

The Toronto Symphony Tours Japan

IN APRIL of this year, the 96 membres of the Toronto Symphony undertook a two-week visit to three major cities of Japan — Tokyo, Osaka and Nagoya. The tour, which included three appearances at the twelfth Osaka International Festival before 7,500 people, was made possible by a substantial grant from the Department of External Affairs under the department's cultural exchange programs. The first of the Symphony's Osaka concerts inaugurated the 1969 festival in that city.

After the appearances in the Festival Hall of Osaka on April 14, 15 and 16, the orchestra moved on to Nagoya, where it gave a concert on April 18. Further concerts were given in Tokyo on April 19, 20 and 21 before enthusiastic audiences totalling 16,500. An additional concert was given as a charity benefit to an audience of over 2,000 on April 23 in Tokyo. The cancer research



Conductor Seiji Ozawa and Mrs. Ozawa are congratulated by Secretary of State for External Affairs Mitchell Sharp after the April 19 concert by the Toronto Symphony in Tokyo.

— Lacroix Photo

foundation for the benefit of which this concert was given is headed by Princess Takamatsu, who visited Canada with her husband at the time of Expo 67. This association of Prince and Princess Takamatsu with Canada enhanced significantly the presence of the Toronto Symphony in Japan. The charity concert was attended by members of the Imperial Family as well as by 70 representatives from the Diplomatic Corps. This performance, admission to which was by invitation only, raised some 2 million yen (about \$6,000) for the foundation. The willingness of the Symphony to give this additional performance after a tiring tour was most favourably commented on by their Japanese hosts.

The tour of Japan was a triumphant homecoming for Seiji Ozawa, who has been the orchestra's conductor for four years and will be much missed when he leaves Toronto to take over as conductor of the San Francisco Symphony Orchestra this autumn.

By good fortune, the Toronto Symphony's appearances in Tokyo coincided with the meetings of the Canadian-Japanese Ministerial Committee in the Japanese capital, thus enabling the Secretary of State for External Affairs, the Honorable Mitchell Sharp, to attend the April 19 concert. Mr. Sharp visited Mr. Ozawa in his dressing room after the concert, and congratulated him and the members of the orchestra on their performance, as well as on their enthusiastic reception by Japanese music-lovers. This concert was also attended by the Honorable Jack Davis, Canada's Minister of Fisheries, and Mrs. Davis.

Other visitors from Canada attending some of the symphony's concerts in Japan were the Honorable George Hees, former Minister of Trade and Commerce, and Mrs. Hees, and the Honorable George Drew, former leader of the Parliamentary Opposition, and Mrs. Drew. The orchestra was accompanied on its tour by its president, Mr. Robert Chisholm, and Mrs. Chisholm, with four other members of the board of directors.

The Canadian Ambassador to Japan, Mr. H. O. Moran, and Mrs. Moran attended the opening concerts in Osaka and Tokyo, and also held a reception in honor of the Symphony at the official residence in Tokyo, during which the Ambassador presented Mr. Ozawa with a letter of commendation from the Secretary of State for External Affairs. This little ceremony was filmed by a camera crew from the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation, which accompanied the orchestra on its tour to produce a television documentary for showing in Canada in the coming autumn.

The Japanese critics were almost unanimous in their praise of the orchestra's personnel and performances, which included works by contemporary Canadian and Japanese composers, as well as numbers from the standard classical repertory.

This tour by the Toronto Symphony represented Canada's first major cultural endeavour in Japan, and contributed significantly to the already existing good relations between the two Governments and peoples.

Visit of Australian Parliamentary Mission

EACH year during the winter recess it is the custom of the Australian Government to send abroad two parliamentary delegations. Canada received one such official visit from June 8 to 24, 1969. The mission, announced in Ottawa by the Right Honorable John Gorton, Prime Minister of Australia, during his official visit to Canada in early April, was led by the Honorable Peter Nixon, Minister for the Interior, and included six other Members of the Australian Parliament, chosen from the Senate and the House of Representatives and from Government and Opposition benches: Senator D. R. Willesee, Senator A. G. E. Lawrie, Mr. F. Courtney, Member of Parliament, Mr. D. Minague, M.P., Mr. B. W. Graham, M.P., and Mr. T. G. Pearsall, M.P.

From the moment of their arrival in Canada, the delegates had a heavy schedule. In Vancouver, British Columbia, they toured the city and visited a fish-packing plant as guests of the Department of Forestry and Fisheries. In Victoria, they met fellow parliamentarians from British Columbia.

Western Tour

Beginning on June 11, the delegates moved by train through Jasper, Alberta, to Edmonton, Alberta, and thence by air to Whitehorse, Yukon Territory, where having met the Commissioner of the Territory, Mr. James Smith, they spent two days travelling about the countryside comparing its problems and prospects with those of their own vast territory. On June 15 and 16, the delegates visited Calgary, Alberta, and Regina, Saskatchewan, in both of which cities they were met by provincial and municipal officials. The mission split into two groups on June 17, one visiting the potash mines and refineries at Esterhazy, Saskatchewan, and the other inspecting the province's natural-gas facilities. They reunited to meet provincial members of the Legislative Assembly and were introduced to the Provincial Municipal Conference by Premier Thatcher. The balance of the same day was given over to visiting the provincial experimental farm to study production and marketing techniques under the guidance of officials of the Department of Agriculture. In the evening, the members of the mission were guests of honor at a banquet given by the government of Saskatchewan.

Ottawa Itinerary

On June 18, the party arrived in Ottawa to attend an evening reception at the Australian High Commission. Next morning they visited the National Arts Centre, toured the Parliament Buildings and lunched with the Speaker of the Senate. In the afternoon, they attended sittings of the House of Commons and the Senate, where they were warmly welcomed by both Speakers. They then proceeded to a full schedule of meetings with Canadian Parliamentarians and

with individual members of the Cabinet, including the Honorable Otto E. Lang, Acting Minister of Energy, Mines and Resources, the Honorable Paul Martin, Government Leader in the Senate and Acting Minister of External Affairs, the Honorable E. J. Benson, Minister of Finance, the Honorable Jean Chrétien, Minister of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, and the Honorable H. A. Olson, Minister of Agriculture. They also met later in the day with Mr. T. C. Douglas, Leader of the New Democratic Party.

In the evening, the delegates were received at Government House and were guests at a dinner given by the Chairmen of the Canadian Branch of the Commonwealth Parliamentary Association and the Canadian Group of the International Parliamentary Union.

The afternoon of June 20 was devoted to a drive along the Gatineau Parkway, with lunch at Kingsmere, tendered by Mr. Speaker Lamoureux of the House of Commons. Later in the day the delegation met the Honorable Robert L. Stanfield, Leader of the Opposition. In the evening, the mission attended a performance of the Charlottetown Festival Company's production of *Johnny Belinda* in the Opera House of the National Arts Center.

End of Visit

On June 21, the delegates left Ottawa for Montreal, where they were shown around Terre des Hommes and the other sights of the city. Next they paid a visit to Niagara Falls and, finally, spent a day in Toronto visiting the Ontario Legislature and meeting provincial parliamentarians. The last official function they attended in Canada was a reception by the Lieutenant-Governor of Ontario.

The general tone of this visit, from the Canadian point of view, was defined by the Speaker of the Senate, when he introduced the mission on June 19:

... We had the pleasure of meeting with this delegation earlier today, and on your behalf I express the hope that the very warm ties between Canada and Australia may continue for many years to come... may I say to our guests how pleased we are to have them visiting us and to express the hope that this visit will be pleasant to them and beneficial to both countries.

The Senate Special Committee on Science Policy

The following is an extract from a statement made by the Under-Secretary of State for External Affairs, Mr. Marcel Cadieux, when he appeared before the Senate Special Committee on Science Policy in March 1969 :

Although the Department of External Affairs itself does not engage directly in any form of scientific research, the increasing extent to which science and related technological advances have begun to assume international dimensions, the complexity faced by governments in the resolution of problems created by rapid technological advances, have brought about important changes in traditional methods of approach to the conduct of foreign affairs and have made this Department increasingly aware of the need not only to keep itself informed on a wide variety of scientific and technical matters but also to ensure that it is so organized that it can rapidly and effectively deal with such problems.

The tremendous strides that have been taken in recent years, not only in space but in advancing knowledge of our own environment, have opened up wide new areas of international concern. A legal framework for preserving the peaceful character of space now exists in the 1967 Treaty on Principles Governing the Activities of States in the Exploration and Use of Outer Space, including the Moon and Other Celestial Bodies. The value of this treaty lies in the fact that it points the way towards similar treaties in other areas of even more direct concern to humanity and the need can be foreseen for a series of treaties dealing with such matters as the Arctic, an ocean-depths treaty, a world pollution treaty, a sonic-boom treaty, a cybernetics treaty, and a treaty, or treaties, governing the use of communications and other types of application satellites (e.g. earth resources, weather, navigation, etc.) to ensure that the rights of individual countries are protected and of the maximum benefit to all users.

The Disarmament Aspect

One of the important international areas in which Canada is active is disarmament. Nearly every disarmament subject has a scientific dimension and the Department frequently requires scientific advice in order to evaluate disarmament proposals. As a consequence, it has developed very close working relations with the Defence Research Board, Atomic Energy of Canada Limited, the Atomic Energy Control Board, and the Department of Energy, Mines and Resources, as well as the Department of National Health and Welfare. The Department, in co-operation with the Director of Chemical and Biological Defence of the Defence Research Board, is participating with other experts in the preparation of a study for the United Nations Secretary-General on the

consequences of the use of chemical and biological weapons. This report, when completed, will be referred to the Eighteen-Nation Disarmament Committee (ENDC), which will consider Canadian proposals along with proposals put forward by other countries in this field. In connection with the Comprehensive Test Ban (CTB), there is reason to believe that teleseismology may eventually become a most effective method for surveillance of adherence to the CTB Treaty. Proposals for such a treaty are often accompanied by complex technical arguments that only seismologists engaged in this type of research are competent to assess. Nevertheless, the Department must be sufficiently well informed on subjects of this kind to be able to determine the value in political terms of proposals put forward by various countries. Canada ranks with Britain and the United States in this field and has made significant contributions to it, both politically and technically, at international meetings. Through the Department of National Health and Welfare, Canada also monitors atmospheric radiation levels and thus assists in the surveillance of the Partial Test Ban.

On the question of nuclear weapons and technology, Canada has taken an active part in the preparation of a recent study for the United Nations Secretary-General on the effects of the possible use of nuclear weapons. This study was related to the Non-Proliferation Treaty, during the negotiation of which the Department frequently called upon the advice of the AECL and the AECB in connection with safeguard provisions and peaceful nuclear explosive services. Canadian interest in disarmament has also been reflected in the very active role taken by Canada in support of measures placed before the United Nations.

UNESCO

However, Canada is also active in many other areas of United Nations activity related to scientific and technological developments, particularly those aimed at taking greater advantage of the earth's resources for the benefit of mankind at large. Much of Canada's activity has been within scientific programs sponsored by UNESCO. As a country surrounded on three sides by water, Canada has, quite naturally, shown particular interest in programs initiated by UNESCO for the study of hydrology and oceanography. Canada has been represented on the Co-ordinating Council of the International Hydrological Decade and the Department was instrumental in arranging for the secondment of a Canadian representative (Dr. J. Fulton of the Science Secretariat) to participate in the preparatory work for the Mid-Decade Conference. The Canadian Committee on Oceanography, though primarily interested in Canadian programs, has been active in some aspects of UNESCO's oceanographic activities. Dr. J. R. Tully of the Fisheries Research Board is Chairman of the Working Committee for the Integrated Global Ocean Stations System, which is one of the major projects undertaken by the Inter-Governmental Oceanographic Commission. In other areas of interest to UNESCO, a Canadian delegation

attended the Biosphere Conference in September 1968, and a Canadian, Dr. J. M. Harrison, Assistant Deputy Minister (Research), Department of Energy, Mines and Resources, is President of the International Council of Scientific Unions, which is UNESCO's chief adviser on scientific matters.

Satellites

In another area of interest to this Department that promises to be of increasing importance as time goes by, Canada has participated actively in matters relating to the development of satellite technology and has been directly involved in negotiations for the working-out of definitive arrangements for the Interim Communications Satellite Corporation (INTELSAT). Canada has also participated actively in a working group and prepared a joint paper with Sweden on the implications, political and otherwise, of direct broadcasting from satellites, a development of which can be expected to take place within the very near future. The Department has also been involved in negotiations in connection with the Government's plan to launch a domestic telecommunications satellite in 1971.

International Law

Scientific and technological advances have also given rise to new problems in international law on which this Department provides advice and assistance. The recognition of the potential value of the sea-bed as a source of minerals, food and other resources, has involved the Department deeply in international discussions and negotiations. Similarly, the development of satellite communications can be expected to raise a number of very complex problems regarding national rights and sovereign jurisdiction, as well as difficult questions concerning rebroadcasting, recording and authors' rights. Although the Department does not necessarily take a leading role in each of the foregoing activities, it has a definite interest in all of them and consequently endeavors to keep itself well informed on the technical aspects of each problem in order that its advice, when required, will be cogent and constructive.

In the field of defence research, Canada has taken an active part in NATO defence science organizations for many years, as a consequence of which numerous productive contacts have been developed and sustained. Scientific information is exchanged between the Defence Research Board and a number of European countries, including the Netherlands, Norway, France, Greece, West Germany and Denmark. Co-operation with Britain has been particularly close.

Scientific Co-operation

Last year, Canada joined the International Council for the Exploration of the Sea, whose headquarters are in Copenhagen, after having had observer status for a number of years. The ICES, apart from Canada and Iceland, is entirely European in membership and is a promising forum for co-operation between

Canadian and European oceanographers. With regard to meteorology, the free exchange of meteorological intelligence among the nations of the world, with the possible exception of postal services, is the outstanding example of continuing effective and efficient international co-operation. Canada, as a member of the World Meteorological Organization, participates with all countries of Europe in this Organization. Canada also co-operates with European countries, bilaterally and multilaterally, on numerous other scientific projects related to resources, both renewable and non-renewable, forestry, health sciences, northern research and the exchange of scientific and technical information. The National Research Council also has a number of bilateral agency-to-agency agreements, not only with European countries but with other countries where sufficient interest has developed.

Bilaterally, because of its close proximity and the very great degree of co-operation between Canadian and American industry in the defence field and in many other areas, it is quite natural that scientific co-operation with the United States is proportionately greater than with other countries. However, science knows no international boundaries and the level of Canadian scientific co-operation with countries other than the United States is nevertheless impressive. In the atomic energy field, the Canadian Government has formal agreements covering atomic energy safeguards with EURATOM, West Germany, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland and Britain. In addition, Atomic Energy of Canada Limited has inter-agency agreements with national atomic energy agencies in Italy, the Soviet Union, Britain and France. In space, Canada has co-operated with Britain, France and Norway, as well as with the United States in the *Alouette*-ISIS satellite programme to investigate the ionosphere. Under informal arrangements with West Germany, Canada has recently launched rockets containing experiments for the peaceful exploration of space by West German scientific institutes. The Canadian sounding-rocket programme has also carried experiments with Swedish and British scientists. In connection with the proposed launching of a Canadian domestic communications satellite, Canada has, within the past few months, sent two technical missions to Europe to look into the possibility of increased co-operation in the development of satellite technology. The initial results of these missions have indicated that there are many areas where Canada and European countries could co-operate

During recent months, a good deal of attention has been paid to the broadening of scientific exchanges on a bilateral basis with other countries. Scientific exchanges form an important part of our cultural agreements with France and the Soviet Union, and the Department also assisted in the conclusion of a scientific-exchange agreement with Brazil last year. The Department is currently assessing the prospects for the conclusion of scientific agreements with other countries where the level of scientific advancement is such that it would be in the general interest of improving bilateral relations to recommend that scientific exchanges be placed on a more formal basis. In order to ensure that

such exchanges, as well as the many informal exchanges which now take place on an agency-to-agency basis, are facilitated, the Department foresees a need during the next few years for increasing the number of scientific attachés at its posts abroad.

The Senate Committee

One question the Department must continuously ask itself is whether or not its present arrangements are adequate to meet the demands placed upon it for co-ordinating Canadian external policy in this most difficult and complex field. To this end, the Department has an active concern in the work of the Senate Committee on Science Policy and any other initiative aimed at better co-ordination and direction of science policy within the Government. At the same time, the Department must carefully examine its own structure to ensure that it is organized effectively to serve the Canadian scientific community. Scientific liaison and/or negotiation between the official scientific community in Canada and their counterparts in other countries and in international organizations have /has been related to the activities and concerns of various units of the Department. While this system has worked well to date, the Department, as part of its continuing examination of its operational techniques, is giving some thought to the possible advantages of setting up an office or division that would have the responsibility for departmental co-ordination of scientific and technological aspects of Canada's external interests. Such a new division or office would be able to assist other departments and agencies in avoiding duplication of Canada's efforts in various fields of interest and help them to take advantage of expertise in one area for application to another. This is a matter of immediate concern to the Department and a subject now being actively reviewed.

Technology and the Department

While it is recognized that the interests of the Committee are directed primarily towards scientific matters, it would perhaps not be out of order to add a word about the use of technological devices in the Department's operations. The Department already makes use of very advanced electronic communications equipment for enhancing its ability to provide missions and delegations with information and instructions and to ensure that the views and analyses of officers posted abroad become available to the Department by the most rapid and secure means possible. However, there are a number of areas, particularly in the administrative field, where the Department believes it can improve its operations. The application of computer technology has already taken place in the financial management area. It is intended to apply similar techniques as rapidly as possible to the maintenance of personnel and property records. The advantages of systems of this kind can readily be seen when related to a department with large quantities of equipment and machinery, as well as furnishings and other properties, at many points overseas.

The Department has also been studying with increasing interest the subject of information storage. This relates to the use of computer techniques and technologies for the filing of information that would tend to provide us with relevant background material to assist in the analysis of political developments and thus to enable us to attempt to forecast with greater accuracy possible trends in international affairs. Experiments along these lines have already been carried out in other countries and we are at present gathering information with a view to determining to what degree they might be used in Canada. This would indeed be a complex system, involving the transmission, selective dissemination, storage, retrieval and final disposition of substantive information on international developments. In my opinion, if such techniques can be applied to the conduct of foreign relations, they should be used, and certainly I consider them to be worthy of serious investigation.

Canada and the Countries of Latin America

THE PRESENT JUNCTURE

The following address was given on June 12, 1969, by Mr. Jean-Pierre Goyer, Parliamentary Secretary to the Secretary of State for External Affairs, to the inaugural meeting at York University, Toronto, of the Canadian Association for Latin American Studies :

In the context of the review of Canada's external policy now under way, especially that part of the review concerned with Canada's relations with Latin America, I find it wholly appropriate that an organization such as the Canadian Association for Latin American Studies should be created, since these special circumstances provide it with a natural objective : to increase mutual knowledge between Canada and Latin America and to establish machinery towards that end. Although your organization is but a few hours old, it represents both a remarkable pool of knowledge and a means whereby that knowledge can be put to use. For its part, the Government has pooled its experience with a view to drawing up its future Latin American policy. I am, therefore, very happy, this evening, to be able to establish a link between these two initiatives, by attempting to trace the broad outlines of our relations with Latin America since 1945 and to indicate some basic elements which will guide us in the formulation of our new policy. . . .

In dealing with the topic of relations between Canada and Latin America as they exist at the moment, and their evolution since 1945, I must first recognize that, from an objective viewpoint, they have perhaps not been as much in the forefront of our international preoccupations as they should be. It is obvious also that our relations with the United States, our very powerful neighbor, inevitably concern us more than our relations with countries south of the Rio Grande. It is also clear that our ties with Europe and the countries of the Commonwealth have, in general, been closer or more closely developed than those with Latin America. More recently still, the ties created with French-speaking countries have assumed proportions which, in a few respects, go beyond the present development of our relations with Latin America. From a purely geographical point of view, it could even be said that sometimes events in Asia or Africa attract the attention of Canadians more than those in the southern half of our hemisphere. Nevertheless, one must admit that Canada is now closer to Latin America than it was 25 years ago, and I believe that this evolution will be accelerated from now on. This, in summary, is the present state of our relations with Latin America, in comparison with our relations with other parts of the world.

Let us now examine the evolution of our relations with Latin America since 1945.

Canada's Geopolitical Situation

From the point of view of our geopolitical situation, one would assume, at first glance, that Canada would long since have drawn closer to the countries of Latin America. In fact, we share the American continent with these countries; in principle, Canada and the Latin American countries defend the same political ideals — that is, those expressed in the Charter of the OAS. Nevertheless, up to the present time, geopolitical forces have had the reverse effect.

Paradoxically, the main reason for this state of affairs is the special geographic position of the United States. The latter country is obviously the dominating geopolitical force in this hemisphere and its influence is felt both to the north and to the south. Yet its relations with these two regions have developed separately and in different directions. Similarly, both of these regions have a special relation with the United States, but this relation binds the region concerned to the United States rather than to the region at the other extremity of the hemisphere. For this reason, one can say that the United States has been a geographical entity — one might almost say a geopolitical entity — separating Canada from Latin America.

I would add in passing that, if one considers the political systems of Canada and Latin America, the difference which does in fact exist between our system and that of most Latin American countries has been an element of neutrality in the development of our relations with these countries. In general, we have adopted the most correct, and perhaps the easiest attitude, the attitude that their choice of systems of government is entirely their own affair, and they have granted us the same consideration. Perhaps this has not drawn us any closer to these countries but, up to the present, it has not separated us from them either.

There is another major reason why geopolitical forces have not yet brought Canada and Latin America much closer together: in the past, the political interests of Canada and those of Latin American countries did not follow the same lines. Since their liberation a century and a half ago, the countries of Latin America have maintained cultural links with Spain and Portugal, and European immigration has played an important role in their development. Nevertheless, these countries have been forced to center their preoccupations on the solution of their internal problems and the affairs of the hemisphere. As I shall mention later, the Canadian people's involvement in international affairs is a fairly recent phenomenon. Despite this, Canada has always been relatively open to the outside world, either for historical or internal reasons, or because of the need to counterbalance the influence of the United States.

Geopolitical Gap Narrows

As a result of technological changes since the Second World War, the geopolitical gap between Canada and Latin America has narrowed. Aviation and telecommunications have greatly facilitated contacts between the various

parts of the western hemisphere, and between this hemisphere and the rest of the world. Canadians are showing a greater interest in the affairs of this hemisphere than they did in the past; at the same time, the people of Latin America are becoming more interested in world affairs. This interest on the part of the people is reflected at the government level. I was one of the members of the ministerial mission which visited nine Latin American countries at the end of last year; during these visits, the Secretary of State for External Affairs and myself were struck by the willingness of the ministers of foreign affairs of these countries to talk with us about several aspects of the situation in the hemisphere and by their great eagerness to discuss in depth current international problems.

It seems obvious to me that co-operation in the discussion of political problems within the United Nations and some of its agencies is one of the reasons for the political *rapprochement* which has taken place between Canada and the countries of Latin America. I shall go into the fundamentals of this aspect of the question later on.

By way of conclusion on the geopolitical aspect proper, I should like to mention here the development of our bilateral relations during the past quarter of a century. Between 1941 and 1961, Canada established diplomatic relations with each of the 20 countries of Latin America. At present, Canadian diplomatic missions are located in 14 of these countries. These facts are indicative of a growing mutual interest between the Canadian Government and the governments of these countries. I am sure that this mutual interest will continue to develop in the future.

The necessity of having well-structured relations between the Latin American countries and Canada is, therefore, no longer questioned, and henceforth we can take it for granted that the evolution of these relations, particularly in the political sphere, is going to be accelerated. What is still the object of our studies and our consultations is rather the form that these relations shall take in the future, and the place they shall occupy in the scale of our priorities in relation to other continents.

Economic Relations

Regarding economic relations between Canada and Latin America, I note the same difference as in political relations between the present state of affairs and the future potential. For our country as well as for Latin America, the most pressing long-term economic imperatives are perhaps economic development itself and trade.

Regarding economic development, the position of the Latin American countries is somewhat paradoxical. In the first place, some of these countries are far more advanced economically than the others. This gap has long existed for some of them. At the same time, in many of these countries, there are, on the one hand, striking economic development, fully comparable

to that of the most advanced countries, and, on the other hand, very serious economic and social problems which affect a wide segment of the population. It is to these problems that the governments of these countries are increasingly turning their attention, and it is, of course, for them to make the necessary decisions, which in certain cases are of immediate urgency.

Certain elements of the Canadian private sector are fairly active in Latin America, where there have long been private capital investments of sizeable importance, especially in mines and public services. Canadian banks operate there and groups of Canadian engineers and consulting engineers are increasingly active in these countries.

More recently, the Canadian Government took a modest step towards real co-operation with the governments of the Latin American countries in the field of economic development. Since 1964, Canada has each year allocated \$10 million to the Inter-American Development Bank. This amount forms part of the long-term loans the Bank grants to member countries in order to help them carry out certain development projects. The Canadian Government has the right to approve the projects financed with Canadian funds. This effort is worthwhile, but hardly sufficient, if one considers that the amount Canada contributes each year to help the economic development of Latin America represents only about 3 per cent of the money earmarked by Parliament for external aid. We fully understand the situation. In the field of economic development, we wish to co-operate with the countries of Latin America as much as possible in the future, and we are now studying the most practical ways of doing so.

In another area, one related to trade (that is, the field of export credits), the Canadian Government has been very active in Latin America in comparison to what it has done in other parts of the world. Of a total of approximately \$400 million granted for credits to foreign countries in recent years, about \$150 million has been directed toward Latin American countries.

Trade Problems

I have already said that trade is unquestionably one of the oldest and one of the most effective ties between Canada and Latin America. The total value of our commercial exchanges exceeded \$965 million in 1968, more than 11 times the figure for 1941. Nevertheless, placed within the context of our world trade, this value represents only 3.8 per cent of our total trade for the year 1968 and, incidentally, indicates a balance in our favor. We sell more to most of these countries individually than they sell collectively on our market. These statistics clearly illustrate the real difficulties these countries experience in increasing to a satisfactory level their exports to Canada. We are ready to provide our advice, as far as possible, to help them increase their output. In return, one must realize that the export of traditional Canadian products to Latin America will from now on have to face the free-trade area

customs arrangements at present being established in these countries. Canada, while attempting to retain a fair share of the market for the exporters of these products, must also seek to ensure that exports of other kinds, such as the equipment needed for economic development, are given a place in our trade with Latin America.

It is evident that there is a place for closer relations with Latin America in the economic field. Canada can play an important role in the economic development of Latin American countries, not only through the Canadian International Development Agency and the Export Credit Insurance Corporation but also through the investment of capital and the various efforts of private groups. I see two main ways in which this role can be fulfilled: in the first place, through the financing that the Canadian Government could usefully provide in the future; and, secondly, by making use of the experience of Canadians who have already had to deal with problems similar to those which Latin Americans must face at present.

In the area of commerce, it would be possible to enlarge our bilateral trade, not to mention the beneficial results we could achieve by working together within certain international bodies to improve the conditions of sale abroad for certain products, particularly those of the developing countries.

The recent decision to put into effect immediately all the tariff reductions which Canada negotiated during the Kennedy Round represents a step forward in this general direction on the part of the Canadian Government. This decision was made public in the budget, as was the Government's new system of customs exemptions for tourists returning to Canada, a measure which could benefit some Latin American countries. These two measures are a consequence of our development policies towards these countries. It would be unrealistic on our part to expect to contribute to the industrial development of these countries if we do not open our consumer markets to their products.

In short, even though economic relations between Canada and Latin America are not yet of capital importance, and even though there are real difficulties to overcome, closer relations are indeed possible and would be of advantage to both sides.

Cultural and Personal Ties

In the not so distant past, Canadian motivation with regard to international problems was far more the result of government initiative than of marked personal interest. The attitude of the average Canadian toward the outside world was very similar to the attitude toward Latin America for which we may be blamed today. Preoccupied with our own affairs, we did not in those days seek to become greatly involved in world problems. Though Canada participated in two world wars, it was only in the Forties that a change in our people's basic attitude toward international affairs could really be noticed. This movement was first in the direction of our traditional external relations

or, in other words, our relations with the United States, Europe and the Commonwealth. Nevertheless, Canadian attention to international affairs also grew as Canada took new initiatives in which our participation resulted from the force of external circumstances, from our responsibilities toward the United Nations, or from Canada's internal situation.

It is only relatively recently that the majority of Canadians have become truly aware of Latin America and of the importance which that part of the world has for Canada. Of course, there had long been Canadians who had felt drawn toward Latin America. I am thinking of people from all parts of Canada who have become interested in Latin America for one reason or another and also, in particular, of French Canadians, for whom this region was made more attractive by its cultural affinity.

This interest has also more recently coincided with the need which French Canadians feel to draw closer to other peoples of Latin background, more particularly to those of the French-speaking world.

A Mutual Lack of Knowledge

This spontaneous interest on the part of French Canadians and also that of many English-speaking Canadians is important in cultural terms. The tendency of Canadians to consider Latin American culture a source of enrichment should be encouraged. The fact remains, however, that in general Latin American culture is little known in Canada, even though, with certain exceptions, this culture is remarkably rich, both in its classic and in its contemporary works. The parallel which I have been trying to draw in other contexts is valid here again, for, if Latin American culture has not received all the attention it should in our country, similarly our culture is only slightly known in Latin America. With the exception of the ancient culture of the Canadian Indians, linked with that of the natives of the southern part of the American continent, our artistic and literary productions have not succeeded very well in crossing the border of the Latin American states.

On the whole, the internal situation of our country at the present time seems quite favorable to a cultural *rapprochement* with Latin America. Like the people of Latin America, most Canadians are the inheritors of Christian traditions and the Graeco-Roman civilization; and, like them, we attach importance to maintaining ties with Europe. If one adds to that a certain adventurousness that expresses itself externally in a desire to explore and draw closer to many parts of the world (a tendency notable among the young), one finds a solid basis for closer relations with Latin America.

As is the case for other parts of the world, there are some aspects of our cultural relations with Latin America that are especially important. I am thinking, in particular, of exchanges on the intellectual plane, university and scientific exchanges, and more generally of the personal contacts favored by personnel exchanges of all kinds. In these fields, and in the field of artistic

exchanges, there is a legitimate government role to be played, and we are now studying the possibility of closer co-operation on our part.

Finally, it should be noted that public information disseminated in both directions — toward Canada from Latin America and *vice-versa* — is scanty. We are far better informed about the situation in the United States or about events in other corners of the world than we are about what is actually going on in Latin America. Fortunately, there is some tendency on the part of newspapers and other media to improve this situation. On our side, for example, the CBC International Service is effectively broadcasting in Latin America information about Canada, and it disseminates some Canadian culture. Nevertheless, an effort must be made to further improve this situation if we are to remedy the obvious lack of information between two major parts of the same continent.

It is in that perspective that the Canadian Association for Latin American Studies has chosen to work toward the establishment of closer relations, founded on a sincere desire to familiarize Canadians with the elements of the vast cultural, geographic and social reality of Latin America, while trying to create among Latin Americans a reciprocal climate favorable to the understanding of Canadian culture and the Canadian personality. The role you can play in helping to bring about a Canadian-Latin American *rapprochement* is as extensive as you want to make it.

International Security

Canada's relations with Latin America in the realm of international security are indirect rather than direct. Since the Second World War, Canada's role in this field has assumed a threefold aspect: in the first place, an alliance with the United States for the defence of North America; secondly, as a member of NATO, our participation in agreements concerning the safety and stability of the North Atlantic world; and, thirdly, under the auspices of the United Nations, our active co-operation in the effort to keep world peace. By this triple association, Canada up to now has contributed to world security and thus, indirectly, to the peace and stability of our hemisphere.

America's security was only once subjected to external threat, at the time of the Cuban missile crisis in 1962, and Canada was implicated through its obligations for the defence of North America. As you know, this crisis was actually settled by the two great powers involved. Normally, however, problems of hemispheric security are looked after by the United Nations or by the OAS, of which Canada is not a member. This is why Canada has no direct responsibility for regional security in the western hemisphere as a whole. It should, nevertheless, be emphasized that our obligations with regard to international security and our participation in the United Nations enable us to make a positive contribution, even if it is indirect, to the stability of Latin America.

Like most other countries, Canada belongs to a large number of international organizations; international affairs tend more and more to be discussed and

even settled within these organizations. It is within these bodies that Canada, since 1945, has had some of its most fruitful contacts with the countries of Latin America. These contacts have occurred mainly at meetings of the United Nations and within several of its bodies, in particular the Security Council, the Economic and Social Council, the International Law Commission, the Commission on Human Rights, the International Labor Office, the World Health Organization, the United Nations Committee on Disarmament and the Economic Commission for Latin America, to which Canada has belonged since 1961.

Even though we have noticed in the deliberations of these bodies that our interests and outlook differ somewhat from those of Latin Americans, there is nevertheless a much broader field of action in which co-operation exists, and this could be enlarged. As I have just said, this was also the impression of the Canadian ministerial mission that recently visited Latin America.

The OAS

There is also an international institution to which the countries of Latin America and the United States belong. Canada, on the other hand, is not a member. I am speaking, of course, of the Organization of American States, the OAS, the leading organization of our hemisphere. Its membership includes two independent countries of the Caribbean, Barbados and Trinidad and Tobago; Jamaica has also just applied for membership. Why, then has Canada never taken the necessary steps to take its place with most of the countries of the hemisphere within this organization?

Generally speaking, it would seem that the imperatives which impelled Canada to join similar organizations — NATO, for example — have not yet made themselves felt in the case of the OAS. Also, most Canadians are not very well informed about the OAS and, among those who know it well, there are a few who are convinced that Canada ought to become a member while others are distrustful and hence opposed to membership.

If one goes a little more deeply into the arguments involved, one would have to admit that Canada, by joining the OAS, would be taking an unequivocal stand at the side of the countries of the hemisphere and would at one stroke gain a voice in hemispheric deliberations on political, economic and social affairs, and in questions of collective security. On the other hand, the history of the organization, in particular its evolution during the past few years, and also the parallel evolution of co-operation among member countries of the OAS, should be considered.

The Organization of American States was founded under its present charter in 1949, but it has existed in other forms since the last half of the nineteenth century. In its origin, the OAS was essentially a rational arrangement of relations between the Latin American countries themselves and between these countries and the United States. In 1949, these relations had existed since the liberation of most of the countries of Latin America; they had been characterized

both by serious problems and by ever-increasing co-operation. Toward the end of the Second World War, the countries of Latin America and the United States, inspired by the same spirit which had prompted the creation of the United Nations, in which they played an important role, decided to regularize their own relations by signing two regional agreements. The first, the Inter-American Treaty for Reciprocal Assistance, the "Rio Treaty", was signed in 1947; the second, the Charter of the OAS, was signed in 1949.

Canada, wishing to avoid a renewal of the two world wars into which it had been drawn, participated actively in the preparatory work leading to the creation of the United Nations and became a member of this body. However, preoccupied with its own interests, and particularly with its relations with those parts of the world to which it was linked by history, and preoccupied also by its new responsibilities within the United Nations, Canada did not find sufficient reason to join the OAS. I might point out in passing, however, that our country became a member of the United Nations Economic Commission for Latin America in 1966, and that we have since taken an active part in its work.

The OAS and the whole inter-American system of which it is the central part have evolved greatly since 1949, especially with regard to activities designed to improve the economic and social conditions of member countries. The Alliance for Progress and the Inter-American Development Bank for Economic Development — the latter established outside the framework of the OAS but composed exclusively of member countries — are the most important instruments from this point of view.

There are also several OAS bodies concerned with technical aid and methods to be used in agriculture and other areas of the same nature. Under the new OAS charter, adopted in 1967 but not yet ratified by all member countries, the Inter-American Economic and Social Council and the Inter-American Cultural Council will be given much broader mandates than those they have had up to now. For a long time, there have been several other inter-American organizations outside the OAS dealing with a great variety of questions, which include technical, administrative and cultural matters.

Non-OAS Agencies

Furthermore, there have been set up recently, again outside the framework of the OAS, agencies or organizational plans, on a scale surpassing even the organizations I have just mentioned. These are organizations or regional associations formed by some of the Latin American countries: the Latin American Free Trade Association, the Central American Common Market, the Andean Group and the River Plate Group. In addition, there is a plan for a common market of all Latin American countries, theoretically to be formed before 1985.

Canada has not remained indifferent to these developments. In 1961, a Canadian minister attended the meeting of the Inter-American Economic and Social Council as an observer. The Alliance for Progress was launched on thi

occasion, and since that time a Canadian observer regularly has been sent to the Council's meetings and, more recently, to those of the Inter-American Cultural Council, which are held simultaneously. Both bodies are now meeting in Port-of-Spain, with our Ambassadors to Mexico and Buenos Aires heading the Canadian delegations. Since last year, the Canadian Government has also been sending an observer to some of the annual meetings of the Alliance's Executive Committee; during these meetings, the progress achieved by those members which are developing countries is reviewed. As I have already explained, Canada has been contributing to the operations of the Inter-American Development Bank since 1964. Moreover, our country belongs to some inter-American technical organizations; these bodies, which may be joined by countries that are not members of the OAS, are not all dependent on the OAS. They have rather varied interests — for example, the operation of central banks, statistics, taxation methods, broadcasting, postal services and the continent's history and geography. There are also Canadians who participate, either individually or as members of groups, in the activities of several non-official inter-American organizations. Finally, the Canadian Government through its embassies in Latin American countries, is following with a great deal of interest the evolution of the regional and intergovernmental groups, especially as they affect trade and economic development.

All this is obviously no more than a modest effort, carried out within a multilateral framework, toward more effective co-operation with the countries of Latin America. We could follow up this co-operation by becoming a member of the OAS.

From several points of view, the OAS is an admirable organization. Of course this organization is not without its weaknesses. It seems to me that it has not always achieved its desired objectives or always used the appropriate means according to the circumstances. It has done a great deal in the past to preserve the peace of the hemisphere and to provide this region of the world with a stability and a cohesion it would not have had otherwise. At present, the OAS is in a period of transition. The new charter still has to be ratified. The new Secretary-General, Mr. Galo Plaza, a most distinguished Latin American statesman, is most remarkable in his efforts.

It remains to be determined whether the Canadian Government will decide that the time is now favourable for applying to join the OAS, or whether it will feel that our country should first take suitable measures to effect closer relations with the countries of Latin America and to increase its knowledge of Latin American affairs before reaching a decision on the more fundamental issue.

Conclusion

In this review of the principal aspects of our relations with Latin America as they have existed in the past and as they exist in the present, I have also tried

to give you some idea of the future of these relations as foreseen at present. To make this part of my remarks a bit clearer, I should like to recall what the Prime Minister said before the departure of the ministerial mission last year. He stated, among other things:

The Government considers our relations with the countries in this hemisphere as being of high priority.

Further on, he added:

I am confident that this review (the review of policy then being undertaken) will demonstrate that there is real scope for strengthening Canada's relations with Latin America to the mutual advantage of both.

The review of policy toward Latin America is now well advanced. We in government are grateful to those of you who have given us valuable advice, either through correspondence or by taking part in the seminar held in Scarborough, a few weeks ago, or otherwise. I hope that, if you have other ideas, you will not hesitate to let us know . . .

Canadian Cultural Institute in Rome

Two eminent Canadian artists, Julien Hébert and Harry Somers, will spend the year from September 1969 to September 1970 in Rome on bursaries from the Canadian Cultural Institute in Rome. Mr. Hébert, creator of the Expo 67 symbol, has achieved distinction in sculpture, industrial design and the graphic arts. Mr. Somers is one of Canada's leading composers. His best-known work is probably the opera *Louis Riel*, which enjoyed great success during Canada's centennial year and will be performed in several European countries during 1970. Both men will receive awards of \$18,000, as well as travelling expenses for themselves and their families.

Founding of the Institute

The Canadian Cultural Institute in Rome was created following an exchange of notes on November 15, 1966, between His Excellency Amatore Fanfani, Italy's Minister of Foreign Affairs, and the Honorable Paul Martin, then Minister of External Affairs for Canada. This exchange was conducted in accordance with agreements concluded a few years earlier between the two countries in connection with settlement for Canadian aid to Italian civilians during the Second World War. Under the terms of these agreements, the Italian Government undertook to pay the Canadian Government \$500,000 for the establishment of a foundation to encourage cultural exchanges between Canada and Italy and strengthen the artistic and cultural ties between the two countries.

The Institute is composed of an advisory committee made up of the Canadian Ambassador in Rome, who acts as chairman, the Embassy's cultural adviser and three other members appointed by the Department of External Affairs following consultation with the Canada Council.

An autonomous "foundation", the Institute has as its sole aim the promotion of cultural, artistic and scientific exchanges between Canada and Italy by means of bursaries or in any other way considered suitable by the directors. Italy, land of the Renaissance, offers Canadian artists and scholars a favorable atmosphere for the unfolding and fostering of their talents. In music, sculpture, painting, films and archaeology especially, Italy is still a source of inspiration for the world.

The Institute plans to award one or two major bursaries a year to Canadian artists and intellectuals chosen from as broad a field as possible. The Canada Council has undertaken to make these bursary offers known to the public and to assist the advisory committee in its choice of the most deserving candidates. It is hoped that, once a better knowledge has been acquired of the role the Institute may play, funds from other sources will be added to its annual income.

Niagara Cataract to be Renovated

THE Department of External Affairs announced on March 21, 1969, that the Governments of Canada and the United States had exchanged notes in Washington to authorize the "dewatering" of the American Falls at Niagara and the use for power purposes of the water thus diverted into the Cascades. The agreement resulted from a recommendation of the International Joint Commission that the measure be taken to facilitate investigation of means to preserve or enhance the beauty of the American Falls.

The power benefits resulting from the temporary diversion will be divided equally between the Power Authority of the State of New York and Ontario Hydro. The two agencies agreed, in return, to make a substantial contribution to the cost of the cofferdam and the ensuing investigation. However, the power diversion required the approval of the United States Senate before being put into effect, since it involved a departure from the minimum flows specified in the Niagara Treaty of 1950.



Signing of the notes exchanged by the United States and Canada authorizing the temporary diversion of water from the American Falls at Niagara : seated left — the Canadian Ambassador to the United States, Mr. A. E. Ritchie; seated right — the U.S. Assistant Secretary of State for European Affairs, Mr. Martin J. Hillenbrand; standing — the U.S. Ambassador to Canada, Mr. Harold F. Linder.

External Affairs in Parliament

Tour of Scandinavia

On June 23, the Honorable Mitchell Sharp, Secretary of State for External Affairs, reported to the House of Commons as follows concerning the visit to Scandinavia from which he had just returned :

... My tour began on June 8 in Oslo and ended on June 19 in Reykjavik, after visiting Helsinki, Copenhagen and Stockholm. This was the first time a Canadian Foreign Minister had made a tour of all five Nordic countries. It was the first time that a Canadian Foreign Minister had visited some of these countries.

My purpose in undertaking this tour was to reaffirm on a personal basis the long-standing good relations between the Canadian and Nordic governments, to provide a new impetus for increased co-operation between Canadian and the Nordic peoples, and to make Canada better known in those countries.

In all the capitals visited, I emphasized that the enlargement of Canada's international horizons taking place as a result of our foreign policy review does not imply any lessening of Canada's interest in Europe and that we recognize the importance of Europe not only for our security but also for many other dimensions of our national life. It is from Europe that most of our population, our culture and our tradition comes. The bulk of our immigration and a significant proportion of our exchanges of persons, ideas and goods are still with Europe. These relations are of great importance not only in themselves but also as a means of diversifying our external relations and developing an identifiably Canadian way of life in North America. For all these reasons, we wish to seek new forms of co-operation with the Europeans, including the Scandinavians.

Everywhere we went, our reception was friendly and generous, and I wish to say here, as I said there, how much we appreciated the care with which our programs were prepared and the many kindnesses we were shown. It was evidence, I think, of the high regard in which Canada is held in those countries and of their desire to get to know us better.

Policies Explained

Great interest was shown in our review of foreign and defence policies. In outlining its nature and the results so far, I stressed the great changes that have taken place both in Canada and the world in the last few years. I pointed out that Canada is now aware, as it has never been before, that it is not only an Atlantic nation but also an American nation with growing interests in Latin America, a Pacific nation with growing ties with Japan and other Asian countries,

and an Arctic nation with increasing responsibilities for the development, surveillance and defence of our vast northern territories. Above all, I emphasized that, in deciding to stay in NATO and to stay in Europe, we have rejected a non-aligned or inward-looking orientation.

This explanation received a sympathetic reception everywhere. Those Nordic countries that are partners of ours in NATO pointed out that our action would necessitate readjustments within NATO and they stressed the importance of both the timing and the possible psychological repercussions as factors to be carefully weighed. However, I am confident that they have a better understanding now of our objectives and that they are reassured of our intention to maintain an effective Canadian military presence in Europe.

Another aspect of our foreign policy review which attracted considerable interest was our decision to open negotiations on diplomatic relations with the People's Republic of China. All the Nordic countries except Iceland have embassies in Peking and I formed the impression that they welcomed the Canadian initiative. I also took advantage of my presence in Stockholm to get a personal report on this subject from our Ambassador there.

East-West Relations

We had some very useful exchanges of views in the Nordic capitals about the general question of East-West relations and European security. I explained Canada's vital interest in the search for *détente* between East and West and for a lasting solution to Europe's security problems. This was why we had welcomed the various initiatives, including the Budapest Declaration, that had been taken concerning the possibility of holding a conference on European security.

I expressed support in particular for the positive but realistic approach of the Finnish Government and for their view that any conference that might eventually meet should be without pre-conditions, should be fully prepared, should involve all countries concerned and, above all, should be assured of reasonable prospects for success.

The West, as least, had no interest in a conference that failed, and it would, therefore, be wise to proceed step by step, sounding out the possibilities of agreement, beginning with the easier problems and moving on gradually to the more difficult ones. I explained that we envisaged this in terms of a steady on-going process, in which NATO consultations had an important role to play, rather than in terms of some great occasion when there was likely to be an abrupt clash of views on stubborn points of contention. I also made it clear that Canada intended to be involved in this process from the beginning and throughout. I found that there was a near identity of view on these points between all the Nordic governments and ourselves, and it was agreed that we should keep in close touch as bilateral consultations proceeded.

We also had an opportunity to discuss developments in Western Europe, including future prospects for the European Common Market and its relation

to proposals for a Nordic economic union. We found it useful to compare notes on the situation in the Middle East, in Nigeria and in Vietnam. We exchanged views on the disarmament negotiations and on United Nations matters, including peacekeeping operations and the provision of aid in disaster situations. On all these questions we found that more often than not our appreciation and approach were very close to those of the various Nordic governments.

In each capital we discussed a number of bilateral questions concerned with trade and other forms of exchange. It should be borne in mind that Canada is the second-best customer for Denmark and Sweden. ⁽¹⁾ We found everywhere a desire to increase co-operation on a functional basis and some specific suggestions were discussed, particularly in the economic, scientific and technological fields. Interest was expressed in reciprocal visits by parliamentarians and I hope to have a chance to discuss this with you at an early date.

In meetings with the public media as well as with governmental authorities, I made a special point of explaining Canadian policies and objectives in terms designed to make clear that we had our own view of the world, our own aspirations and our own way of doing things that were not quite anybody else's. As a result, I think, there is a better knowledge of Canada in the Nordic countries and a better appreciation of the possibilities for our working together. I, in turn, have a much clearer picture of these countries and their peoples and of the prospects for joint action.

⁽¹⁾ Canada stands immediately after the United States as the second-best non-European customer of Denmark and Sweden.

CONFERENCES

- Pan-American Institute of Geography and History, ninth general assembly: Washington, May 28 - June 20
- Canada-U.S.A. joint ministerial committee meeting: Washington, D.C., June 25-26
- Association interparlementaire France-Canada: Ottawa, June 30 - July 2
- UNCTAD Trade and Development Board, ninth session: Geneva, August 23 - September 12
- Fourth International Agricultural Aviation Congress: Kingston, Ontario, August 25-29
- World Conference on Bird Hazards to Aircraft: Kingston, Ontario, September 2-5
- International Red Cross Conference, twenty-first session: Istanbul, September 13-16
- Commonwealth Conference on Speakers and Presiding Officers: Ottawa, September 8-12
- Commonwealth Parliamentary Association, general conference: Port-of-Spain, October 4-19
- Colombo Plan Consultative Committee : Victoria, B.C., October 14-31
- North Atlantic Assembly, fifteenth annual conference: Brussels, October 27-31
- Interparliamentary Union, fifty-seventh interparliamentary conference: New Delhi, October 30 - November 7
- Association internationale des Parlementaires de Langue française, second annual conference: Tunisia, January 1970

APPOINTMENTS, TRANSFERS AND RESIGNATIONS IN THE DEPARTMENT OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS

- Mr. G. L. Kristianson posted from Ottawa to the Canadian Embassy, Tokyo, effective April 23, 1969.
- Mr. D. W. Campbell posted from the Office of the High Commissioner for Canada, Kingston, to Ottawa, effective April 29, 1969.
- Mr. V. G. Turner posted from the Permanent Mission of Canada to the United Nations, New York, to Ottawa, effective May 1, 1969.
- Mr. M. Roussin appointed to the Department of External Affairs as Departmental Adviser on Bilingualism, effective May 1, 1969.
- Mr. A. J. Hicks, Canadian Ambassador to Costa Rica, retired from the Public Service, effective May 2, 1969.
- Mr. J. R. Schram appointed to the Department of External Affairs as Foreign Service Officer 1, effective May 5, 1969.
- Mr. R. J. Rochon appointed to the Department of External Affairs as Foreign Service Officer 1, effective May 5, 1969.
- Mr. T. C. Hammond posted from the Canadian Embassy, Belgrade, to Ottawa, effective May 9, 1969.
- Mr. D. G. Longmuir posted from the International Commission for Supervision and Control in Vietnam to the Canadian Embassy, Tokyo, effective May 9, 1969.
- Mr. W. W. Thompson posted from Ottawa to the Canadian Embassy, Pretoria, effective May 10, 1969.
- Mr. A. Bernier resigned from the Department of External Affairs, effective May 12, 1969.
- Mr. A. G. Campbell posted from the Canadian Delegation to the Conference of the Eighteen-Nation Committee on Disarmament, Geneva, to the Canadian Embassy, Bonn, effective May 13, 1969.
- Mr. A.J. Pick, Canadian Ambassador to Tunisia, appointed Canadian Ambassador to the Netherlands, effective May 19, 1969.
- Mr. C. E. Garrard posted from the Delegation of Canada to the International Commission for Supervision and Control in Laos to the Canadian Embassy, The Hague, effective May 22, 1969.
- Mr. F. E. K. Chandler posted from the Canadian Embassy, Tunis, to Ottawa, effective May 26, 1969.
- Miss J. McAuley posted from Ottawa to the Canadian Embassy, Quito, effective May 29, 1969.
- Miss J. Haworth posted from Ottawa to the Canadian Embassy, Moscow, effective May 30, 1969.
- Mr. W. G. Graham posted from Ottawa to the Canadian Embassy, Copenhagen, effective June 2, 1969.
- Mr. W. M. M. Fairweather appointed to the Department of External Affairs as Foreign Service Officer 1, effective June 2, 1969.

- Miss K. J. Heller appointed to the Department of External Affairs as Foreign Service Officer 1, effective June 2, 1969.
- Mr. W. P. Hingston appointed to the Department of External Affairs as Foreign Service Officer 1, effective June 2, 1969.
- Mr. J. P. Juneau appointed to the Department of External Affairs as Foreign Service Officer 1, effective June 2, 1969.
- Mr. J. A. Lichardson appointed to the Department of External Affairs as Foreign Service Officer 1, effective June 2, 1969.
- Mr. R. E. Lyman appointed to the Department of External Affairs as Foreign Service Officer 1, effective June 2, 1969.
- Mr. L. L. Mooney appointed to the Department of External Affairs as Foreign Service Officer 1, effective June 2, 1969.
- Mr. J. R. C. Sirois appointed to the Department of External Affairs as Foreign Service Officer 1, effective June 2, 1969.
- Mr. B. A. Smith appointed to the Department of External Affairs as Foreign Service Officer 1, effective June 2, 1969.
- Mr. D. W. Smith appointed to the Department of External Affairs as Foreign Service Officer 1, effective June 2, 1969.
- Mr. J. P. G. Ducharme posted from Ottawa to the Delegation of Canada to the International Commission for Supervision and Control in Vietnam, Saigon, effective June 10, 1969.
- Mr. J. R. R. Fournier posted from Ottawa to the Canadian Embassy, Kinshasa, effective June 11, 1969.
- Miss J. Shaw posted from the Canadian Embassy, Pretoria, to Ottawa, effective June 11, 1969.
- Mr. G. L. Hearn posted from the Permanent Mission of Canada to the United Nations, New York, to Ottawa, effective June 13, 1969.
- Mr. H. G. Pardy posted from Ottawa to the Office of the High Commissioner for Canada, New Delhi, effective June 13, 1969.

TREATY INFORMATION

Current Action

Bilateral

Thailand

Exchange of Notes between the Government of Canada and the Government of Thailand constituting a commercial *modus vivendi* between the two countries.

Bangkok April 22, 1969.

Entered into force April 22, 1969.

United States of America

Exchange of Notes between the Government of Canada and the Government of the United States of America concerning construction of a temporary cofferdam on the Niagara River between Goat Island and the United States mainland.

Washington March 21, 1969.

Entered into force March 21, 1969.

Exchange of Notes between the Government of Canada and the Government of the United States of America concerning the temporary additional diversion of Niagara water for power purposes.

Washington March 21, 1969.

Entered into force May 20, 1969.

Multilateral

Convention relating to the status of refugees.

Done at Geneva July 28, 1951.

Entered into force April 22, 1954.

Canada's Instrument of Accession deposited June 4, 1969.

To enter into force for Canada September 2, 1969.

Agreement relating to refugee seamen.

Done at The Hague November 23, 1957.

Entered into force December 27, 1961.

Canada's Instrument of Accession deposited May 30, 1969.

To enter into force for Canada August 28, 1969.

Protocol relating to the status of refugees.

Done at the United Nations January 31, 1967.

Entered into force October 4, 1967.

Canada's Instrument of Accession deposited June 4, 1969.

Entered into force for Canada June 4, 1969.

Amendments (1967) to the International Convention for the Safety of Life at Sea, 1960, adopted at the fifth regular Assembly of the Inter-Governmental Maritime Consultative Organization.

Done at London October 25, 1967.

Canada's Instrument of Acceptance deposited June 2, 1969.

Agreement regarding the status of personnel of sending states attached to an international military headquarters of NATO in the Federal Republic of Germany.

Done at Bonn February 7, 1969.

Signed by Canada February 7, 1969.

EXTERNAL AFFAIRS

*External Affairs is issued monthly in English and French by the
Department of External Affairs, Ottawa.*

*It provides reference material on Canada's external relations
and reports the current work and activities of the Department.*

Any material in this publication may be reproduced.

Citation of External Affairs as the source would be appreciated.

*Subscription rates: Canada, the United States and Mexico,
\$2.00 a year; other countries, \$2.50; students in Canada,
the United States and Mexico, \$1.00 a year; in other
countries, \$1.50. Subscriptions are sent post free.*

*Remittances, payable to the Receiver General of Canada,
should be sent to the Queen's Printer, Ottawa, Canada.
Authorized as Second Class Mail, Post Office Department,
Ottawa.*

Published by authority of
the Honorable Mitchell Sharp
Secretary of State for External Affairs

ol. XXI, No. 8

Contents

August 1969

Lawrence Seaway	306
Canada-Germany Science Agreement	309
Canadian Senators Visit Czechoslovakia	310
the International Labor Organization	315
Canadian Maple-Trees for Japanese Philosophers' Grove	318
Urundi and Canada	319
Canada at Versailles	321
References	323
Appointments, Transfers and Resignations in the Department of External Affairs	324

St. Lawrence Seaway

TENTH ANNIVERSARY CELEBRATED

JOINT ceremonies on June 27, 1969, participated in by Prime Minister Pierre Elliott Trudeau and President Richard M. Nixon marked the tenth anniversary of the St. Lawrence Seaway.

The celebrations began in the early afternoon when the official parties met at the Canadian-United States border on the Moses-Saunders Power Dam — the site where, exactly ten years before, Queen Elizabeth and Mr. Nixon, then Vice-President, had dedicated the 32-turbine dam. The backdrop for the meeting was a black marble slab on the concrete wall of the dam, displaying the Canadian and United States shields and an inscription that read:

This stone bears witness to the common purpose of the two nations whose frontiers are the frontiers of friendship, whose ways are the ways of freedom and whose works are the works of peace.

From the dam the official parties travelled by car through an avenue of Canadian and United States flags to the Dwight D. Eisenhower Lock at Massena, New York, for the first of two official ceremonies. The principal speakers were Governor Nelson Rockefeller, who made the introductory remarks, the President and the Prime Minister. After the 40-minute ceremony at Massena, the official parties flew by helicopter to Ile Sainte-Helene, Montreal.

The Canadian ceremony began in mid-afternoon at the Place des Nations with opening remarks by Dr. Pierre Camu, President of the St. Lawrence Seaway Authority, and the Honorable Don C. Jamieson, Minister of Transport for Canada. The Prime Minister and Mr. Nixon, who was in Canada for the first time since assuming the office of President, delivered the principal speeches. They then concluded the ceremony by unveiling and dedicating a plaque commemorating the Seaway's tenth anniversary, to be placed on the nearby St. Lambert Lock.

Development of a Canal System

It was at St. Lambert ten years and one day before that Queen Elizabeth and President Eisenhower had officially opened the Seaway, crowning the plans and achievements of several centuries. Canals had been constructed in the early 1700s to overcome the natural obstacles to navigation on the St. Lawrence. During the nineteenth century, trade and government had dictated vigorous programs of building and expansion to circumvent the St. Mary's Falls and the rapids at Lachine and the Long Sault. By 1904, with the completion of the third Welland Canal and improvements to the existing Cornwall and Williamsburg Canals, there had come into operation

a navigational system providing a channel 14 feet deep from Montreal to the Lakehead.

As early as 1895, the Governments of Canada and the United States had appointed a Commission to study the feasibility of a new deep-draft waterway through the international stretch of the St. Lawrence. Although the Commission had reported favorably on the proposal two years later, a full 50 years of discussion and study had followed. Then, in 1951, the Canadian Government took the initiative, and Parliament passed an act to establish the St. Lawrence Seaway Authority, to construct, finance and operate, alone



Prime Minister Trudeau (right) and President Nixon dedicate a plaque commemorating the tenth anniversary of the St. Lawrence Seaway at the Place des Nations, Montreal.

or with the United States, a deep waterway between Montreal and Lake Erie. In 1954, after negotiations, the United States authorized the Saint Lawrence Seaway Development Corporation to construct part of the Seaway in United States territory. Five years of co-ordinated construction followed, with an expenditure on navigation facilities of \$460 million (\$330 million by Canada and \$130 million by the U.S.), and an additional joint expenditure on hydro-electric facilities at Cornwall-Massena of \$600 million. Power was first generated in 1958; the first through-passage of the Seaway was made in April 1959.

The Seaway has opened up an important international trade-route more than 2,300 miles long from the Atlantic into the heart of North America. The entire system contains 16 locks with a continued lift of approximately 600 feet between Montreal and the Lakehead. At present, it can handle ships 730 feet in length, carrying cargoes of up to 28,000 tons. Since its opening, the Seaway has increased traffic along the St. Lawrence fivefold, making ocean ports of inland cities.

It was to this magnificent achievement in engineering and in international co-operation that the speakers paid tribute throughout the ceremonies marking the Seaway's tenth anniversary. At Massena, the Prime Minister paraphrased Robert Frost's poem *Mending Wall* to suggest that perhaps not only "good fences" but "good ditches" as well "make good neighbors". He referred to the Seaway as "a truly marvellous ditch". At the Place des Nations, Dr. Camu declared:

Great rivers are not made to divide but to unite.

Canada-Germany Science Agreement

The following is the text of a press release issued by the Department of External Affairs on July 8 :

The Secretary of State for External Affairs, the Honorable Mitchell Sharp, today announced the signing of an intergovernmental agreement between the Federal Republic of Germany and Canada on the use of the facilities of the Churchill Research Range at Churchill, Manitoba, for scientific research. The agreement was signed on behalf of Germany by the Ambassador of Germany, Dr. Joachim Friedrich Ritter, and by Mr. Sharp for Canada. It provides for the continuation of previous co-operation between Canada and Germany in the use of the Churchill Research Range for peaceful purposes through the firing of high-altitude scientific sounding rockets. The National Research Council of Canada will provide technical support for the German scientists engaged in the program.

The signing ceremony was also attended by Dr. Ernest-Günther Koch, Counsellor from the German Embassy, and Dr. R. S. Rettie, Chief, Space Research Facilities Branch, representing the National Research Council.



Dr. Joachim Friedrich Ritter, Ambassador for the Federal Republic of Germany (left), and the Honorable Mitchell Sharp, Secretary of State for External Affairs, sign the agreement for scientific research between their two countries.

Canadian Senators Visit Czechoslovakia

The following report was made to the Senate on June 19, 1969, by the Honorable Paul Martin, Leader of the Government in Parliament's Upper Chamber :

In April of this year, Dr. Dalibor Hanes, Chairman of the House of Nations of the Federal Assembly of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic, renewed a long-standing invitation to the Speaker of the Senate to head a working delegation from this Chamber on a visit to Czechoslovakia, to take place, as indeed it did, in May. It was decided that the delegation would proceed to Czechoslovakia following the Consultative Assembly of the Council of Europe in Strasbourg and that, in addition to the Speaker, it would include Senator Flynn, the Leader of the Opposition, Senator Aird, the Chairman of the Senate Foreign Affairs Committee, and me, as Leader of the Government in the Senate.

... Our visit to Czechoslovakia from May 18 to 22 was pleasant and informative. We had the opportunity of meeting and talking with some political people, including Alexander Dubcek, the President of the Federal Assembly. We have pleasant memories of our visit and are sympathetic to the political and economic problems with which Czechoslovakia is faced.

... It might be useful to recall that Czechoslovakia is bordered on the northwest by Germany, on the northeast by Poland, on the southwest by Austria, and on the southeast and east by Hungary and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. Its population is roughly 14½ million, of which about two-thirds speak Czech and one-third Slovak.

We have in this country, of course, many Czechs, but we have a great number of Slovaks too, and those of us who are familiar with this portion of the Canadian population bore them very much in mind when we visited both Prague and Bratislava.

The literacy rate in Czechoslovakia is over 96 per cent. This is indicative of the high level of culture and civilization that prevails in that country, founded 50 years ago by that great democratic leader and philosopher Masaryk, whose son, Jan Masaryk, the Foreign Minister in the Second World War, I had the privilege to know and to call a friend. As is well known, Czechoslovakia has had a Communist government since 1948.

Courage and Realism

The tragic events of last August are, of course, still painfully fresh in our memories, as they are in the minds of the people of Czechoslovakia. There is no need today to dwell on the events that preceded August, though the memories of the elation felt by the Czechoslovakian people in those days

which communicated itself so infectiously to the other peoples of the world, and not least to the Canadian people, can yet bring a feeling of warmth to our hearts, even though, with hindsight, a sad warmth. Suffice it to say that, after August, the Czechoslovakian people found it necessary to come to terms with a new situation: a courageous and realistic people had to discover a new *modus vivendi*, one which would permit them to save as much as possible of the reforms and measures instituted before August, while satisfying their Warsaw Pact partners that regional political and security systems would not be endangered.

It is not my intention today . . . to reveal the full discussions that we had; and we did have three and a half days of continuous discussion. One would not want to make the problem of the Czechoslovakian Government or its people more difficult but, to the extent that it seems prudent, I should like to outline the nature of the talks and my impressions of the talks that we had both with important personalities in the Government of the Federal Council itself, the National Assembly, and the heads of the governments of both the Czech state and the state of Slovakia.

Just prior to our arrival in Czechoslovakia, what I might describe as the necessities of political life in that country resulted in the replacement of Mr. Alexander Dubcek as First Secretary of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia by Mr. Gustav Husak. This was accompanied by other organizational



During a reception in Prague by the Czechoslovak Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs, J. J. Kohout, Senator Paul Martin (left) and Canada's Ambassador to Czechoslovakia, T. B. B. Wainman-Wood (center), chat with Mr. Kohout.

changes, which, though weakening the position of political forces which had spearheaded the reform movement of 1968 and strengthening the position of forces which were in varying degrees opposed to the reform program, nevertheless appeared to leave the balance of power in the hands of moderates who can hope to enjoy public confidence.

Signs of Moderation

Of course, the Government of Czechoslovakia has remained in a difficult position, but counterbalancing the increasing press censorship and the continuing replacement of reformers in official positions has been the fact that there has been no visible policy of persecuting political opponents. Indeed, a conditional amnesty was announced on May 27 for those who fled abroad. Perhaps another sign of moderation is the fact that Professor Ota Sik, known as the "father" of the economic reform plans of Czechoslovakia, who returned to that country last month to defend himself against various charges before the Party's Central Committee, was, after expulsion from his position as a member of that Committee, not prevented from leaving Czechoslovakia to return to his teaching position at a university in Switzerland. I venture to hope that an equally civilized approach will be taken in dealing with other Czechoslovakian figures now under criticism by the régime.

In view of Canada's interest in the question of constitutional reform, we were very interested in the new Constitution of Czechoslovakia, which came into force on January 1 this year. We also took the opportunity of gathering information on the background and operation of the political bodies under that constitution.

... I am sure I speak for Senator Flynn and Senator Aird when I say that we were very proud of the way in which the delegation of Senators from this place was directed by our Speaker.

In public ceremonies, in private conversations, wherever we went, we were under the direction of His Honor the Speaker, and I can assure this House that he conducted the delegation in an exemplary way. He honored this House and he honored the country. It is not without significance that our delegation was the first Western delegation to visit Czechoslovakia during the recent period.

Under the new Czechoslovak Constitution, there is a federal assembly consisting of two houses, one called the House of Nations, the other the House of the People. There are, as well, two national assemblies, one for the Czechs and one for the Slovaks, called respectively the Czech National Council and the Slovak National Council. One of the high points of our trip was a visit to Bratislava, the capital city of the Slovak Socialist Republic, where we were warmly welcomed and acquainted with progress being made in Slovak national development by the Vice-Chairman, Mr. Anton Tazky, and members of the Slovak National Council. I am sure that Senator Flynn will recall

the morning of discussion with him, in the old Palace at Bratislava, about matters of interest and concern to us, and which we know to be of interest and concern to them.

In Prague, Dr. Cestmir Cisar, the Chairman of the Czech National Council, who was closely identified with the program which preceded the invasion of August of last year, received us graciously, and gave us the opportunity of several hours of frank discussion with him about matters that concerned his country and its relations with other European countries. He gave us the fullest responses to our interrogations, and participated in a general and frank discussion.

Each of us, in his own way, has interpreted these discussions and will report to the Government of Canada. This will help in making assessment of our relations with Czechoslovakia.

Dubcek Interview

We had the special opportunity, as I indicated a few moments ago, of meeting and exchanging views with Alexander Dubcek, the Chairman of the Czechoslovak Federal Assembly and, until a few months ago, the effective and actual head of the Government of Czechoslovakia, who continues to be an important personality in the Government of that country. He is a member of the Praesidium, and the head of the Czechoslovak Federal Assembly.

He spoke to us at length during the course of an entire afternoon, emphasizing Czechoslovakia's loyalties to the countries of Eastern Europe. He also went to great pains to describe the background and workings of the new Constitution and the hopes that his country had for it. I was impressed by him, as I am sure we all were, and by his sincerity, his idealism and his patriotism. We could not help but feel sympathy for what he had been through and for his continuing trials in the tragically complicated position in which he, his friends, and his country find themselves at the present time.

I think I can assure Honorable Senators that we found in Czechoslovakia a very general understanding of the position taken by Canada after the events of last August. In condemning the aggression, Canada refused to accept that any state or group of states has a right to intervene with force in the domestic affairs of another state, but we realized fully the difficulty and delicacy of Czechoslovakia's position, and tried — I hope successfully — in no way to render it more difficult. I can say that the Canadian position continues to remain the same, and my remarks today must, of course, be taken in this context.

Czechoslovakia faces many difficulties created by geography and by historical, political and economic forces, many of which lie beyond its control. Our visit helped us to understand better the nature of these difficulties, and encouraged our hope that a way can be found through them which will accord with the deep and noble aspirations of the Czech and the Slovak peoples.

I believe, too, that there was no more appropriate way to underline the sympathy and admiration of the Canadian people than through a parliamentary exchange of this sort.

As Secretary of State for External Affairs, I have participated in many conversations with foreign ministers and others, and I can say quite frankly that I do not think there were any that were franker or more useful than the ones we had with Mr. Dubcek and his colleagues on both the Czech and the Slovak sides. In making this report of our visit to Czechoslovakia in this general way, I hope I have indicated that we had the opportunity of frank talk and exposition. We have now a common responsibility, as members of this delegation, to make the best use of the information and the reactions we bring back

The International Labor Organization

HISTORY OF CANADIAN PARTICIPATION

ONE of the first acts of the negotiators who met in Paris in 1919 was to name a nine-country commission to draft the labor clauses of the peace treaties. From their deliberations emerged a proposal to form the International Labor Organization, which would be an autonomous body within the framework of the League of Nations.

Canada was not represented on this commission, but was kept informed on proceedings by the British Empire delegation. In considering the makeup of the Governing Body, the Organization's executive arm, the commission decided that Canada and other dominions would not get representation because of Britain's inclusion.

This decision did not sit well with the Canadian delegation to the Paris Conference, led by the Prime Minister, Sir Robert Borden. In fact, Sir Robert refused to accept it and, against stubborn resistance, he finally succeeded in securing a place for Canada on the Governing Body as one of the eight countries of chief industrial importance.

This determined stand by the Prime Minister was significant on two counts. It marked an important step forward in Canada's fight to play an independent role in international affairs, and it served public notice of the country's desire, at the outset, to participate in the activities of the International Labor Organization.

Application of ILO Conventions

The early history of Canadian involvement in the ILO centered mainly on attempts to apply the provisions of the various international conventions uniformly throughout the country in order to fulfill its obligations as a member of the organization. The problem, of course, was to determine whether the subject matter of these conventions that fell under provincial jurisdiction could be made binding by federal legislation.

When the ILO was founded at the Paris Conference, the general opinion among members of the Canadian delegation was that Section 132 of the British North America Act, dealing with international treaties, gave Parliament the right to carry out any obligations imposed by membership in the new Organization. However, attempts to implement provisions of a convention calling for an eight-hour day and a 48-hour week, adopted at the first International Labor Conference at Washington in 1919, put this theory to the test.

Though there was considerable enthusiasm for the convention immediately after the conference, efforts to attain agreement on how to implement its

provisions were not successful. The Department of Justice settled the jurisdictional question for the time being with a ruling that hours of work fell squarely in the provincial field and thus the convention could only be applied on a country-wide basis if legislation were enacted by each province and by the Federal Government for industries under its jurisdiction.

After a meeting of federal and provincial representatives in 1923 failed to solve the problem, a period of inactivity set in and little effort was made to deal with other ILO conventions that involved matters in the provincial area. However, the Federal Government did enact legislation on some ILO conventions concerning the working conditions of seamen covered under the Canada Shipping Act.

Period of the Thirties

During the 1930s, another attempt was made to make federal legislation with respect to ILO conventions binding as it affected matters that lay within provincial jurisdiction. Again, it was the hours-of-work convention and, again, action was taken on the basis of the BNA Act's Section 132.

Prime Minister R. B. Bennett proceeded to ratify this convention and included it in a series of measures designed to ease unemployment brought on by the depression. Parliament passed the legislation that was to apply to Canadian industry generally. However, the Bennett Government was defeated before the legislative package was proclaimed. It was referred to the Supreme Court, which divided three-to-three on the validity of the measures. Next they were considered by the Privy Council's Judicial Committee, which ruled they were *ultra vires* of the Federal Parliament.

Canada's position with respect to ILO conventions was next examined by the Rowell-Sirois Commission on Federal-Provincial Relations, which recommended that "the Dominion and the provinces together should decide how international labor conventions should be implemented". By this time, the Second World War had started and interest in ILO affairs lapsed. However, Canada invited the staff of the International Labor Office, the ILO's permanent secretariat, to set up temporary headquarters on the campus of McGill University in Montreal. It remained there until 1948, when it was moved back to its permanent home in Geneva.

The result of the Bennett ratification of the hours-of-work convention proved an embarrassment to Canada after the war, when the Federal Government was unable to implement the provisions. This made the Government more cautious and, in fact, the prevailing opinion over the next 15 years was that Canada should not seek to ratify conventions where the jurisdiction to legislate was divided between the federal and provincial governments.

New Era in Federal-Provincial Co-operation

By the 1960s, however, this view began to change with the acceptance by the Canada Department of Labour of the idea that it was constitutionally

possible for the Federal Government to ratify conventions even though compliance depended on necessary legislation being enacted by the province.

This ushered in a new period of intensive federal-provincial co-operation on ILO matters. For example, every effort is made to ensure that two members of provincial governments are included in the delegation to the annual international labor conference. In addition, these delegations often include observers from the provinces, who are encouraged to work closely with the official Canadian delegation. The result has been that provincial governments now have a better understanding of how the ILO works and more interest in its operations.

Three ILO conventions whose subject matter falls partly within provincial jurisdiction have been ratified in recent years. These deal with discrimination in employment (1964) and employment policy and prohibition of underground mining work for women (both in 1966). The ratification of the convention on discrimination in employment was a particular source of satisfaction because three Canadians had been closely involved when the ILO dealt with the subject a few years earlier. Arthur Brown had been chairman of the ILO conference committee, while Allen Campbell of Canadian Westinghouse and Kalman Kaplansky of the ILO's Canadian office had served as chairman of the employers' and workers' groups respectively. In fact, this convention was a major factor contributing to the adoption of fair employment legislation in several Canadian jurisdictions.

The total number of Canada's ratifications of ILO conventions now stands at 24. While most of these pertain to matters exclusively within federal jurisdiction, the new spirit of co-operation between federal and provincial authorities will probably produce a marked increase in ratifications of conventions whose subject matter lies partly in the provincial fields.

While it is apparent that the cause of Canada's interest in the ILO has been concern for the applications of the Organization's international labor standards to improve federal and provincial labor legislation, there are signs that the country is looking beyond its borders to areas where it can co-operate in ILO-sponsored projects on a world-wide basis.

For example, as a result of discussions between officials of the Canadian International Development Agency, Canada began work at the beginning of 1969 on a project in Tanzania financed under the United Nations' Development Program and operated by the ILO. Canada is committed to operation of a pilot-training center as part of a comprehensive National Apprenticeship Scheme, and will be responsible for the financing of the Canadian teachers involved and the provision of machinery and other equipment.

Canadian Maple-Trees for Japanese Philosophers' Grove

WASEDA UNIVERSITY at Tanohata-mura in the Iwate Prefecture of Japan is in the process of creating a sylvan retreat for students, called *Shii-no-mori* ("Philosophers' Woods"). This plantation, according to Kenichi Abe, a former president of the University, "is to provide students with a place where they can study free from the distractions of the city" and "to let students combine hard physical labor with quiet study and rumination and to let the village inhabitants benefit from cultural contacts with the students".

In May of this year, the Canadian Ambassador to Japan, Mr. H. O. Moran, attended a tree-planting ceremony at Waseda University during which he presented to the University, in the name of the people of Canada, 50 sugar-maple saplings that were to become part of the "Philosophers' Woods".



During the tree-planting ceremony at Waseda University, Ambassador and Mrs. Moran wield shovel and mattock in the planting of one of the 50 sugar-maple saplings that are to become part of the "Philosophers' Woods". The man immediately to Mr. Moran's left is holding a scroll of appreciation from the University.

Burundi and Canada

ESTABLISHMENT OF DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS

CANADA'S program of strengthening diplomatic ties with Africa was brought nearer to completion earlier this year with the establishment of diplomatic relations with the Republic of Burundi. Mr. Terrence Nsanze, Burundi's Ambassador to the United Nations, presented his credentials to Governor-General Michener on March 27 and Mr. Marc Baudoin, Canada's Ambassador to the Congo (Kinshasa), presented his credentials in Bujumbura, the capital of Burundi, on June 6. Under the system of multiple accreditation, Mr. Nsanze will continue to reside in New York and Mr. Baudoin in Kinshasa.

In presenting their credentials, both ambassadors expressed the hope that relations between the two countries, which share both the bonds of the French language and the cultural variety of bilingual states, would grow in depth and cordiality. Mr. Nsanze returned in June to Ottawa, where he paid a courtesy call on Prime Minister Trudeau.

In the past, relations between the two countries have been limited. Canada at present sponsors five Burundian students in Canadian universities. In addition, 14 volunteers of the Canadian University Service Overseas and 22 Canadian missionaries are teaching in Burundi. The activities of these private Canadians have created a climate of trust between the countries which the establishment of diplomatic relations extends.

History of Burundi

Toward the end of the nineteenth century, the African kingdom of Burundi, which dated back to the early sixteenth century, was integrated into the German possessions in East Africa. Occupied by Belgian troops in 1916, it was joined with Rwanda after the First World War to form the mandated territory of Ruanda-Urundi, under Belgian administration.

After the Second World War, Ruanda-Urundi came under United Nations trusteeship, while remaining under Belgian administration. Limited responsible government was established in 1961. Burundi came to full independence on July 1, 1962, as a constitutional monarchy.

After several changes of government, King N'tare V was removed from power in 1966 in a *coup d'état* led by the then Prime Minister, Captain Michel Micombero, who proclaimed the Republic of Burundi and assumed its presidency. A new presidential constitution is currently under study by his government.

National Life

Burundi's three and a half million people, of whom some 85 per cent are Bahutu (the remainder being largely Watutsi and Batwa, with some Congolese,

Swahili and Europeans) live almost entirely in the varied countryside. Bujumbura has a population of 71,000 and is the main commercial, as well as governmental, centre.

Burundi, like Canada, is a bilingual nation, having as official languages both French and Kirundi. French serves largely as the language of administration, while Kirundi is the language of daily life. The press and radio use both official languages, as well as Swahili, English and Kiswahili.

Economy

Ninety per cent of Burundi's people are engaged in agriculture. Although most of the agricultural output is consumed in the domestic market, considerable amounts of coffee and cotton are exported. Burundi is currently seeking wider markets for these commodities.

The Government is also engaged in a five-year plan to increase agricultural production and to speed industrial development, particularly in the potentially lucrative mining industry. This industry has yet to exploit fully known deposits of gold and other rare minerals, as well as suspected deposits of copper, nickel, lead and other minerals.

Manufacturing is limited to production of textiles, soap and beer, and to the processing of coffee. A shoe factory operated by the Bata Shoe Company of Toronto produces 2,000 pairs of shoes and sandals daily.

International Relations

Like many developing countries, Burundi has not played an active role in international affairs, preferring to devote its energies to the solution of internal problems. Burundi is, however, a member of the United Nations and of the Organization of African Unity, and has direct relations with more than 20 countries. The establishment of relations with Canada is indicative of Burundi's desire to increase its contacts with the outside world.

Canada at Versailles

PROGRESS IN PUBLISHING DOCUMENTS ON CANADIAN EXTERNAL RELATIONS

MORE than a decade ago, Lester B. Pearson, then Secretary of State for External Affairs, said that the publication of a series of volumes of Canadian state papers was the most important task that the Historical Division could undertake for the Department. The then Head of the Historical Division, the well-known Canadian historian George P. de T. Glazebrook, decided to act on this suggestion and began to plan the publication of the series *Documents on Canadian External Relations*. In February 1968 the first volume was published.

Volume 2, entitled *The Paris Peace Conference 1919*, which is due to be published shortly and will be on sale at the Queen's Printer Bookstores at \$5.00 a copy, was edited by R. A. MacKay, formerly Associate Under-Secretary of State for External Affairs and now Visiting Professor of Political Science at Carleton University.

As the title indicates, Volume 2 deals with one major topic, the Versailles Peace Conference of 1919. It is, therefore, much slimmer than the first volume and, indeed, than most of the subsequent volumes will probably be. There are 200 documents (plus an annex of 20 general memoranda) mainly drawn from the files of the Department, the *Borden Papers*, the *Christie Papers*, the files of the Governors General and other sources at the Public Archives of Canada. Perhaps the most interesting document is a brief note that was given to Sir Robert Borden at his request by Georges Clemenceau, Woodrow Wilson and David Lloyd George, the political leaders of France, the United States and Britain. This document reads:

The question having been raised as to the meaning of Article IV of the League of Nations Covenant, we have been requested by Sir Robert Borden to state whether we concur in his view that, upon the true construction of the first and second paragraphs of that Article, representatives of the self-governing Dominions of the British Empire may be selected or named as members of the Council. We have no hesitation in expressing our entire concurrence in this view. If there were any doubt it would be entirely removed by the fact that the Articles of the Covenant are not subject to a narrow or technical construction.

Dated at the Quai d'Orsay, Paris, the sixth day of May, 1919.

G. CLEMENCEAU
WOODROW WILSON
D. LLOYD GEORGE

A Hasty Composition

In a sense this document was a certificate of Canada's international citizenship. It recognized the nation's right to a full place in the international community,

at least as far as the League of Nations was concerned. The note was typed on plain paper with minor corrections made by typewriter on the original text. In order to demonstrate the hasty and offhand way in which it was thrown together and signed, it was decided to use a facsimile of the original document as a frontispiece to the volume. The note was sent to Ottawa by Sir Robert Borden with instructions to put it in safe keeping. Its safe keeping, however, left something to be desired; in one corner of the document is a cigarette-burn; indeed, it was completely lost to the Department for a number of years until it was recovered from the Department's collection of Sir Joseph Pope's Papers by a member of the staff of Historical Division in 1961.

The production of this second volume of *Documents on Canadian External Relations* marks a considerable step forward. Volume 1 was a long time in the making. The time taken to produce Volume 2 has not been particularly short but at least it was less than for Volume 1. Meanwhile Volume 3, edited during summer vacation periods by Professor Lovell C. Clark now of the University of Manitoba, is at the printers and will be published in the not too distant future.

At present the Department has two resident scholars editing future volumes in the series. Alex. I. Inglis, who has been under contract to the Department since July 1968 and will continue until next summer, has worked on completing Volumes 2 and 3 and is editing Volumes 4 and 5, which should carry the series to around 1935. John A. Munro, who joined the staff of the project in July of this year, is to edit Volume 6, which will deal with the era of appeasement and rearmament.

In May of this year the Prime Minister announced the introduction of a 30-year access rule, under which, when government documents are 30 years old, they are to be turned over to the Public Archives of Canada and made available to scholars and members of the general public for the purposes of research and study. Because of this rule, it is the hope of the Department of External Affairs to bring the series to a point where documents are being published that are just under 30 years old, thus making them available to a wider public than can travel to the Archives in Ottawa.

CONFERENCES

- UNCTAD Trade and Development Board, ninth session: Geneva, August 23 - September 12
- World Conference on Bird Hazards to Aircraft: Kingston, Ontario, September 2-5
- International Red Cross Conference, twenty-first session: Istanbul, September 13-16
- Commonwealth Conference on Speakers and Presiding Officers: Ottawa, September 8-12
- United Nations General Assembly, twenty-fourth session: New York, September 16
- Universal Postal Union, sixteenth congress: Tokyo, October 1 - November 14
- Commonwealth Parliamentary Association, general conference: Port-of-Spain, October 4-19
- Colombo Plan Consultative Committee : Victoria, B.C., October 14-31
- North Atlantic Assembly, fifteenth annual conference: Brussels, October 27-31
- Interparliamentary Union, fifty-seventh interparliamentary conference: New Delhi, October 30 - November 7
- Food and Agriculture Organization, fifteenth session: Rome, November 8-27
- Association internationale des Parlementaires de Langue française, second annual conference: Tunisia, January 1970

APPOINTMENTS, TRANSFERS AND RESIGNATIONS IN THE DEPARTMENT OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS

- Mr. A. D. Morgan posted from Ottawa to the Canadian Embassy, Prague, effective May 25, 1969.
- Mr. J. T. Devlin posted from the Office of the High Commissioner for Canada, Kuala Lumpur, to Ottawa, effective June 15, 1969.
- Mr. J. E. Hyndman resigned from the Department of External Affairs, effective June 15, 1969.
- Mr. J. M. Siegrist posted from Ottawa to the Canadian Consulate, Melbourne, effective June 15, 1969.
- Mr. P. D. Lee posted from the Canadian Embassy, Tehran, to Ottawa, effective June 16, 1969.
- Mr. T. P. O'Connor posted from Ottawa to the Canadian Embassy, Addis Ababa, effective June 16, 1969.
- Mr. A. D. Bryce posted from Ottawa to the Canadian Embassy, Moscow, effective June 17, 1969.
- Miss J. E. Munro posted from the Canadian Embassy, Moscow, to Ottawa, effective June 17, 1969.
- Mr. G. L. Gagne resigned from the Department of External Affairs, effective June 19, 1969.
- Miss S. M. Wise resigned from the Department of External Affairs, effective June 20, 1969.
- Mr. F. S. Lemon appointed to the Department of External Affairs as Purchasing and Supply Agent 3, effective June 23, 1969.
- Mr. R. C. Smith posted from the Office of the High Commissioner for Canada, New Delhi, to Ottawa, effective June 24, 1969.
- Mr. S. J. O. Cloutier posted from Ottawa to the Canadian Consulate General, Boston, effective June 24, 1969.
- Mr. G. Gagne posted from Ottawa to the Canadian Embassy, Tunis, effective June 25, 1969.
- Mr. R. W. Nadeau posted from the Delegation of Canada to the International Commission for Supervision and Control in Laos to the Office of the High Commissioner for Canada, Addis Ababa, effective June 26, 1969.
- Mr. F. A. D. Blair posted from Ottawa to the Canadian Embassy, Oslo, effective June 27, 1969.
- Mr. E. Martel posted from Ottawa to the Canadian Embassy, San José, effective June 27, 1969.
- Mr. B. K. Watson posted from Ottawa to the Canadian Embassy, Lima, effective June 27, 1969.
- Mr. H. C. Hampson posted from Ottawa to the Canadian Embassy, The Hague, effective June 27, 1969.
- Mr. M. F. Kirk retired from the Public Service, effective June 28, 1969.
- Mr. P. L. Trottier posted from the Harvard University Center for International Affairs to Ottawa, effective June 30, 1969.
- Miss M. C. Fletcher posted from the Permanent Mission of Canada to the United Nations, New York, to Ottawa, effective June 30, 1969.
- Mr. R. M. Bennett appointed to the Department of External Affairs as Engineer 7, effective July 1, 1969.
- Mr. G. Dick appointed to the Department of External Affairs as Personnel Administrator 3, effective July 1, 1969.
- Mr. S. E. Riethman posted from the Office of the High Commissioner for Canada, Wellington, to Ottawa, effective July 1, 1969.
- Mr. R. E. Caldwell posted from the Canadian Embassy, Prague, to the Office of the High Commissioner for Canada, Nicosia, effective July 2, 1969.

- Mr. R. W. Clark posted from Ottawa to the Delegation of Canada to the Conference of the Eighteen-Nation Committee on Disarmament, Geneva, effective July 2, 1969.
- Miss M. D. Buckley-Jones posted from the Canadian Embassy, Lima, to Ottawa, effective July 2, 1969.
- Mr. J.-M. G. Dery posted from the Office of the High Commissioner for Canada, Accra, to Ottawa, effective July 2, 1969.
- Mr. J. Montpetit posted from the Canadian Embassy, Beirut, to Ottawa, effective July 2, 1969.
- Mr. A. J. J. Young posted from Ottawa to the Canadian Embassy, Bonn, effective July 2, 1969.
- Miss A. M. Doyle posted from Ottawa to the Office of the High Commissioner for Canada, Nairobi, effective July 4, 1969.
- Mr. D. G. MacKinnon posted from the Canadian Embassy, San José, to Ottawa, effective July 6, 1969.
- Mr. G. R. J. Gingras appointed to the Department of External Affairs as Foreign Service Officer 1, effective July 7, 1969.
- Mr. J.-Y. Grenon posted from the Canadian Embassy, Dakar, to Ottawa, effective July 7, 1969.
- Mr. A. E. H. Campbell posted from the Office of the High Commissioner for Canada, Georgetown, to the Canadian Embassy, Madrid, effective July 9, 1969.
- Mr. M. C. Temple posted from Ottawa to the Delegation of Canada to the International Commission for Supervision and Control in Laos, effective July 9, 1969.
- Mr. G. A. H. Pearson posted from Ottawa to the Office of the High Commissioner for Canada, New Delhi, effective July 11, 1969.
- Mr. J. J. M. Côté, Canadian Ambassador to Senegal, posted to Ottawa, effective July 12, 1969.
- Mr. P. A. Oldham posted from Ottawa to the Office of the High Commissioner for Canada, Wellington, effective July 11, 1969.
- Mr. A. C. E. Joly de Lotbinière resigned from the Department of External Affairs, effective July 11, 1969.
- Mr. R.P. Gilbert posted from Ottawa to the Canadian Embassy, Port-au-Prince, effective July 13, 1969.
- Mr. M. Beaubien posted from the Canadian Embassy, Paris, to the Canadian Embassy, Tehran, effective July 14, 1969.
- Mr. J. C. W. Wood posted from the Canadian Embassy, Madrid, to Ottawa, effective July 14, 1969.
- Mr. L. Houzer posted from the Permanent Mission of Canada to the Office of the United Nations, Geneva, to Ottawa, effective July 15, 1969.
- Mr. W. H. Holmes posted from the Office of the High Commissioner for Canada, New Delhi, to Ottawa, effective July 16, 1969.

EXTERNAL AFFAIRS

*External Affairs is issued monthly in English and French by the
Department of External Affairs, Ottawa.*

*It provides reference material on Canada's external relations
and reports the current work and activities of the Department.*

Any material in this publication may be reproduced.

Citation of External Affairs as the source would be appreciated.

Subscription rates: Canada, the United States and Mexico,

\$2.00 a year; other countries, \$2.50; students in Canada,

the United States and Mexico, \$1.00 a year; in other

countries, \$1.50. Subscriptions are sent post free.

Remittances, payable to the Receiver General of Canada,

should be sent to the Queen's Printer, Ottawa, Canada.

*Authorized as Second Class Mail, Post Office Department,
Ottawa.*

Published by authority of
the Honorable Mitchell Sharp
Secretary of State for External Affairs

Vol. XXI, No. 9

Contents

September 1969

United Nations General Assembly	328
The International Labor Organization	351
Montebello Conference	354
Visit of Armenian Catholicos	356
Algerian Administrative Trainees Visit	357
Conferences	358
Appointments, Transfers and Resignations in the Department of External Affairs	358

United Nations General Assembly

TWENTY-FOURTH SESSION — EXPECTED DEVELOPMENTS

ON September 16, 1969, representatives of the 124 member states of the United Nations will gather in New York for the opening of the twenty-fourth regular session of the General Assembly. The Chairman of the Guatemalan delegation (which provided the President of last year's session) will open the proceedings and, after a few remarks, will ask the members of the Assembly to rise for a minute of silent prayer or meditation. He will then proceed to appoint the Credentials Committee, which examines the credentials of delegations.

The Assembly will next elect by secret ballot the President of the twenty-fourth session. The newly-elected President will take his seat on the dais and call the session to order. Only one presidential candidacy, that of Miss Angie Brooks, Assistant Secretary of State of Liberia, has been announced and her election seems assured.

The next step will be the election of the 17 vice-presidents, who include in addition to representatives of the five permanent members of the Security Council, seven vice-presidents from Africa and Asia, one from Eastern Europe, three from Latin America and two from the Western Europe and Others group. The regional group providing the Assembly President loses one of its vice-presidencies, so that the total number of vice-presidents remains 17. At the time of writing, the following are candidates for vice-presidencies:

Afro-Asian group: Indonesia, Mongolia, Malawi, Nigeria

Latin American group: None registered yet

Eastern European group: None registered yet

Western European and Others group: Denmark, Luxembourg

The Assembly will proceed to constitute the seven main committees of the whole through which it functions. The likely or known candidates for committee chairmen are as follows:

First Committee — Political and security questions, including disarmament (Pakistan)

Special Political Committee — shares the work of the First Committee (Afghanistan, Poland)

Second Committee — Economic questions (Greece)

Third Committee — Social and cultural questions (Mauritania)

Fourth Committee — Colonial and trusteeship questions (Congo-Kinshasa)

Fifth Committee — Budgetary and administrative questions (Brazil)

Sixth Committee — Legal questions (Ecuador)

The President, the vice-presidents and the seven committee chairmen

form the General Committee, whose function is to make recommendations to the Assembly on the adoption of the provisional agenda and the assignment of agenda items to the main committees, and subsequently to supervise and co-ordinate the work of the Assembly.

In addition to the seven main committees, the Assembly has established two standing committees, the Advisory Committee on Administrative and Budgetary Questions and the Committee on Contributions, as well as a number of other standing subsidiary and special bodies all of which deal with specific or recurrent problems.

After the Assembly has adopted the agenda, it holds a general debate lasting normally about three weeks. During this period, heads of delegations deliver policy statements explaining the attitudes of their respective governments on the subject placed before the Assembly and emphasizing those matters their countries consider of the greatest importance.

At the beginning of October, the seven main committees each meet to elect their vice-chairmen and rapporteurs and to decide the order of business.

After a committee has concluded its considerations of an agenda item, it recommends a resolution or some other course of action through the medium of the rapporteurs' report to a plenary meeting of the Assembly. Plenary meetings are called from time to time to deal with the agenda items assigned exclusively to plenary or to consider the reports of the committee rapporteurs. In practice, very few committee decisions are reversed by plenary. However, this may happen when the membership is almost equally divided on specific issues, since a resolution in committee needs only a simple majority for adoption, whereas the Charter requires a two-thirds majority in plenary meetings on all matters of importance.⁽¹⁾

Consideration of an agenda item usually begins with a general debate on all aspects of the problem, which may last, depending on the item, from a few hours to two or three weeks. During this debate ideas crystallize, and draft resolutions and amendments to these resolutions are tabled by various delegations and finally voted on. Basically, there are three ways in which a resolution may be adopted. If the presiding officer is convinced that all the member states are in favor of a resolution, he may simply announce that unless he hears any objections the resolution will be considered as adopted unanimously. If this is not the case, delegations may signify their approval, rejection or abstention by a show-of-hands vote, a procedure under which only the total number of votes in favor, against or abstaining are recorded, or by a roll-call vote, where each delegation casts its vote orally and has its vote recorded in the records of proceedings. Sometimes voting gives rise to procedural issues and observers may find it helpful to read beforehand the rules of procedure of the Assembly.

A great variety of United Nations documents are available during a session and must be studied carefully in order to follow effectively the work of the

(1) See Article 18 of the Charter.

Assembly. The Permanent Mission in New York has prepared a guide to these documents to assist delegates in obtaining material they require. Moreover, the *Journal* is published every day; it indicates the time and place of committee meetings, briefly summarizes the previous day's proceedings, and announces the publication of new documents. A verbatim record of proceedings in plenary and in the First Committee, summary records for proceedings in all committees, studies of the subjects under discussion, draft resolutions, rapporteurs' reports and other documents can usually be obtained from the documents officer in charge of the committee concerned.

Since there will be over 90 items on the final agenda of this Assembly, it is not possible to give here a detailed background for each, nor is it possible to indicate with certainty to which committee each will be assigned. The final agenda for each committee will be available in document form when the Assembly has taken action on the reports of the General Committee. In the meantime, a provisional agenda is available. The most important items are mentioned below, but the reader should remember that many items have a long history, the complete understanding of which would require many hours of study.

Plenary Items

Elections to the Security Council

The Security Council has 15 members. The Council consists of the five permanent members (China, France, Britain, the U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R.) and ten non-permanent members. These non-permanent members are elected from four geographical regions, five members being elected each year for two-year terms. Canada was elected during the twenty-first session and completed its term last year. The table below shows declared candidates for office at the time of writing:

	Seats of Region	Vacancies	Candidates
Africa-Asia	5	3	Togo Sierra Leone Burundi Syria
Eastern Europe	1	1	Poland
Latin America	2	1	Nicaragua
Western Europe and Others (including Canada)	2	0	

Elections to Economic and Social Council

At the twentieth session (1965) nine new seats were added to the original 18, so that ECOSOC now consists of 27 members. The new seats are formally allocated as follows: seven to Africa and Asia, one to Latin America and one to the Western Europe and Others group (including Canada).

The following table shows the vacancies for each region, with known or likely candidates. The customary pattern of distribution for the original seats has been combined with the formal regional allocations of the new seats.

	No. of seats	No. of vacancies	Candidates
Great powers (France, Britain, U.S.A., U.S.S.R.)	4	1	France
Africa-Asia	12	4	Ceylon, Lebanon, Asian group, Nigeria, Ghana, U.A.R., Kenya (African group)
Latin America	5	1	Haiti
Western Europe and Others	4	2	Greece (Italy, Netherlands)
Eastern Europe	2	—	—

Report of Special Committee of Twenty-Four on Colonialism

The Special Committee of Twenty-Four has the task of supervising the implementation of the Colonial Declaration of December 1960, which proclaimed the necessity of bringing to an end colonialism in all its forms and manifestations. The Committee meets almost continuously in the interval between Assembly sessions. This year the Assembly will consider recommendations of the Special Committee on a variety of colonial territories, including Rhodesia, Equatorial Guinea, Gibraltar, the Portuguese territories, Oman, Fiji and New Guinea. These territories differ widely in their political and economic development and each presents special problems. The recommendations of the Special Committee of Twenty-Four are generally dealt with by the Fourth Committee.

Human Environment

Acting on Resolution 1345 (XLV) adopted by the forty-fifth session of the Economic and Social Council in the summer of 1968, the twenty-third session of the General Assembly decided that there should be a World Conference on Human Environment in 1972 (Resolution 2398 (XXIII)). This resolution also

requested the Secretary-General to submit a report to the forty-seventh meeting of ECOSOC (July-August 1969) on the scope and progress of work being done and areas which might advantageously be considered at the conference. The forty-seventh session of ECOSOC, after considering, *inter alia*, the report from the Secretary-General (E4667 of May 26, 1969), prepared in response to the above resolution of the UN General Assembly, has recommended in its Resolution 1148 (XLVII) that the twenty-fourth session of the General Assembly should affirm that the main purpose of the conference should be to serve as "a practical means to encourage, and to provide guide-lines for, action by government and international organizations" to protect and improve the human environment and to remedy and prevent its impairment by means of international co-operation. The latter resolution also notes the importance of enabling developing countries to forestall the occurrence of such problems.

In view of the problems that beset Canada in this area, such as pollution and rapid urban expansion, the Canadian delegation will continue to participate actively in consideration of this item.

Election of Five Members of the International Court of Justice

The International Court of Justice has 15 members, each elected for nine years. The terms of five members expire every three years and elections are held concurrently in the Security Council and the General Assembly during the session immediately preceding the date of expiry of their terms of office. During the twenty-fourth session of the Assembly, five World Court judges will be elected to replace the following members of the Court, whose terms expire on February 5, 1970:

- (1) J. L. Bustamante y Rivero — Peru (currently President of the Court)
- (2) P. C. Jessup — U.S.A.
- (3) K. Tanaka — Japan
- (4) V. M. Koretsky — U.S.S.R.
- (5) G. Morrelli — Italy.

In accordance with Article 10 of the Court's Statute, successful candidates must obtain an absolute majority of votes in both the Security Council and the General Assembly.

After close of nominations, the United Nations Secretariat, on August 14, advised that the following candidates have been nominated by one or more national groups:

- (1) R. Ago — Italy
- (2) M. Bartos — Yugoslavia
- (3) H. W. Briggs — U.S.A.
- (4) F. de Castro — Spain
- (5) A. M. Costa — Brazil
- (6) De Visscher, P. — Belgium
- (7) H. C. Dillard — U.S.A.

- (8) P. Guggenheim — Switzerland
- (9) L. Ignacio-Pinto — Dahomey
- (10) P. C. Jessup — U.S.A.
- (11) E. Jimenez de Arechaga — Uruguay
- (12) Thanat Khoman — Thailand
- (13) P. D. Morozov — U.S.S.R.
- (14) H. Mosler — F.G.R.
- (15) Nagendra Singh — India
- (16) W. Riphagen — the Netherlands
- (17) C. A. Stavropoulos — Greece
- (18) S. Verosta — Austria
- (19) B. C. Walsh — Ireland
- (20) F. Welter — Luxembourg.

Of the above, the Canadian national group has nominated Dr. Jimenez de Arechaga, Dr. Nagendra Singh and Mr. Constantin Stavropoulos.

First Committee

Arms Control and Disarmament

At the time of writing there are four arms-control and disarmament items on the agenda of the twenty-fourth session of the General Assembly. The four items are:

- General and Complete Disarmament (Item 29);
- Suspension of Nuclear Testing (Item 30);
- Conference on Non-Nuclear Weapon States (Item 31); and
- Reservation for Peaceful Purposes of the Sea-bed (Item 32).

Two other important issues, the Non-Proliferation Treaty and the question of chemical and biological weapons, while not the subject of separate agenda items, will doubtless be raised for discussion during the general debate.

The course of the debate on arms control and disarmament is difficult to forecast since it will be heavily influenced by developments at the Eighteen-Nation Disarmament Committee (ENDC), whose meetings are not yet concluded at the time of writing, and also by whether the U.S.S.R. and the U.S.A. have begun bilateral strategic arms-limitation talks (SALT).

The question of general and complete disarmament (GCD) has been regularly placed on the agenda by the Secretary-General in order to provide an opportunity for a general debate on disarmament as a whole and on partial or collateral measures of arms control in the context of GCD. While GCD continues to be acknowledged as the ultimate goal of all disarmament discussions, and while most countries consider it appropriate for the UN to keep the question under annual review, it is generally recognized that progress towards this goal must await the solution of political and other problems.

Of all the arms-control issues that have tried the patience of the world

in recent years, the most onerous has been the effort to conclude a comprehensive test ban (CTB) that would supplement the 1963 prohibition of nuclear tests in the atmosphere, in outer space and under water by banning nuclear tests underground. The principal difficulty is over whether "on-site" inspection is necessary in order to verify violations of such an agreement or whether national means of seismological detection are adequate for this purpose. Canada has recently proposed in the ENDC at Geneva steps towards an international system of seismic-data collection which may eventually assist in circumventing the verification problem. A basic difficulty, however, is not in finding a foolproof method of verification but in the currently-felt needs of the major nuclear powers for continued testing of warheads until the nuclear-arms race itself can be curtailed.

The final document of the Conference of the Non-Nuclear Weapon States (CNNWS) held in Geneva in the autumn of 1968 was placed before the twenty-third session of the UN General Assembly by the Secretary-General. The declaration and various resolutions adopted by the CNNWS were the subject of considerable debate, and a compromise resolution was passed which requested that the Secretary-General submit a comprehensive report to the twenty-fourth session of the Assembly on progress in the implementation of recommendations of the CNNWS as contained in the twenty-third session resolution. The twenty-fourth session will probably have placed before it reports from the IAEA, the IBRD and other Specialized Agencies and international bodies that are concerned with the recommendations of the CNNWS.

Discussions on the "examination of the question of the reservation exclusively for peaceful purposes of the sea-bed and the ocean-floor" (Item 26 of the twenty-third Assembly) will undoubtedly be divided into two parts — the arms-control aspects of the sea-bed, which have been the subject of negotiations in the ENDC, and the Law of the Sea question, which has been discussed elsewhere. The report of the ENDC on the arms-control aspects of the sea-bed will probably recommend that the General Assembly focus its attention on the two draft treaties which were tabled during this year's sessions of the ENDC. The Soviet draft treaty calls for a complete prohibition of all military activities on the sea-bed and ocean-floor except in a 12-mile coastal band to be measured from the same base-lines used in defining the limits of the territorial waters of coastal states. The United States draft treaty, on the other hand, prohibits only fixed nuclear weapons and weapons of mass destruction from being placed on the sea-bed and ocean-floor but exempts a three-mile coastal band from these prohibitions.

After years of negotiation, the Non-Proliferation Treaty was concluded on June 12, 1968, and accompanying security assurances in response to requests by many countries were approved by the Security Council of the United Nations on June 19. Almost simultaneously, the Soviet Union accepted the long-standing United States offer to negotiate with the U.S.S.R. on limitations and reduction of

offensive and defensive strategic arms. Such strategic arms-limitation talks should be viewed in the light of Article VI of the Non-Proliferation Treaty, in which parties bind themselves "to pursue negotiations in good faith on effective measures relating to cessation of the nuclear arms race at an early date and to nuclear disarmament . . .".

In January 1969, Canada ratified the Non-Proliferation Treaty, the only near-nuclear nation to do so. Canada hoped that its action might be followed by ratification by other near-nuclear countries, without which the treaty cannot become effective. Canada has not abandoned these hopes and refuses to be discouraged by the fact that, although some 90 countries have signed the Non-Proliferation Treaty, only 15 — including one nuclear, Britain, and one near-nuclear, Canada — have deposited instruments of ratification at the time of writing. It continues to be the view of the Canadian Government that a prolonged delay in the coming into force of the treaty or in the ratification of it by states which have, or are reported to have, the ability to produce a nuclear weapon within the next few years would be a lamentable set-back to the cause of nuclear disarmament and the freeing of the world from the menace of nuclear war.

Discussions of chemical and biological warfare (CBW) will probably be an item of major interest in the First Committee this year. Growing public concern and the Secretary-General's report on CBW, which was recently made public, have served to focus attention on CBW in the ENDC and will doubtlessly do the same at the twenty-fourth session. The recommendations contained in the Secretary-General's report, with the text of a British draft convention for the prohibition of biological means of warfare, have been the subjects of a good deal of discussion at the ENDC, which, it is expected, will present one or more draft resolutions on CBW for the consideration of the General Assembly.

Although progress in resolving difficulties on many of these arms-control and disarmament issues in the Geneva Disarmament Committee has not kept pace with Canadian hopes, the Committee continues to represent in microcosm the world's concern about these problems and constitutes an essential negotiating instrument that should not be discounted. Canada welcomes the valuable contribution that the eight states (Argentina, Hungary, Japan, Mongolia, Morocco, the Netherlands, Pakistan and Yugoslavia) which have recently joined the Committee will make to its deliberations. This addition of new states has resulted in a new name for the ENDC, which henceforth will be called the Conference on the Committee of Disarmament (CCD) at Geneva.

Outer Space

The 28-member Committee on the Peaceful Uses of Outer Space, on which Canada has served since its formation in 1959, is required to report to the General Assembly on present and potential activities and resources of the United Nations relating to the peaceful uses of outer space, to investigate areas

of possible international co-operation in this field under United Nations auspices, and to explore the nature of legal problems which might arise in the exploration and use of outer space. The Committee, the annual meeting of which begins on September 8, 1969, and will last for perhaps a week, functions through a Scientific and Technical Sub-Committee which had its sixth session in March 1969 and through a Legal Sub-Committee which held its eighth session in Geneva from June 9 to July 4. In addition to considering the reports of these two Sub-Committees, the parent Committee will also consider the results of the Working Group on Direct Broadcast Satellites, to which Canada and Sweden contributed two joint working papers (A/AC 105/49, February 13, 1969, and A/AC 105/59, July 20, 1969), both of which were well received.

The Legal Sub-Committee made some additional progress but again did not succeed in drafting an acceptable convention on liability for damage caused by man-made space objects. One of the main areas of contention is the inclusion of a provision for settlement-of-disputes procedure.

The Scientific and Technical Sub-Committee's deliberations made particular mention of the need to facilitate the flow of information and assistance of potential value with regard to space applications to non-space members. As a result, one of the Sub-Committee's principal recommendations in its report (A/AC 105/55, April 1, 1969) was the early appointment to the Secretariat of a member whose full-time task would be to promote the practical applications of space technology, with special regard to developing countries.

The twenty-third session of the General Assembly approved the establishment by the Committee of a working group to study and report on the technical feasibility of direct broadcasting from satellites and current and foreseeable developments in this area, including comparative user costs and other economic considerations, as well as the implications of such developments in the legal, social, cultural and other areas. The working group (a committee of the whole) held two sessions, each producing a report, one on the basic technological and economic aspects of direct broadcast satellites (A/AC 105/50, February 19, 1969) and the other on the legal, social, cultural and other implications of their use (A/AC 105/66, August 12, 1969).

After reviewing these reports, the Committee will be expected in turn to produce a report to be forwarded for consideration by the First Committee of the General Assembly.

Special Political Committee

Apartheid

The *apartheid* policies of the Government of South Africa are deplored and condemned by almost all members of the Assembly, including Canada. There is, however, a wide divergence of views on the sort of pressure that should be brought to bear on South Africa to change its policies. Many members from

Africa and Asia advocate economic and other sanctions as the only means of achieving a peaceful solution. Others, including Canada, have argued that for the General Assembly to concentrate on maximum action in the absence of agreement among the members of the Security Council is unrealistic and likely to damage the credibility of the United Nations. Some members of the United Nations have urged that increased status and assistance should be given to the various African liberation movements in exile from South Africa that advocate the use of violence to overthrow *apartheid*. Canada opposes the use of force but has supported United Nations programs and funds designed to educate and assist South Africans abroad.

UN Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees

This agency was set up in 1950 to provide relief for and to facilitate the rehabilitation of the Arab refugees who lost their homes and means of livelihood during the hostilities which accompanied the establishment of the state of Israel in 1948. Since UNRWA's inception, the refugee population, originally estimated at from 700,000 to 800,000, has risen to nearly 1.6 million. Last year UNRWA provided rations and services (health, education, vocational training) to over 1.2 million refugees. Its budget is made up of voluntary contributions from governments, UN agencies, and private associations and individuals. In order of size of contribution, the three largest contributors have been the United States, Britain and Canada. With its increased responsibilities, resulting from the war of June 1967, UNRWA had run up by last March a deficit of some \$4 million. At the twenty-fourth session of the General Assembly, discussion of the Agency's work will probably focus on how to deal with UNRWA's seemingly insurmountable financial problems. The character of the debate itself will depend to some extent on the progress made by the Secretary-General's special representative (Ambassador Jarring) toward achieving a settlement of the Middle East question, in accordance with Security Council Resolution 242 of November 1967. In the absence of real progress by Ambassador Jarring, however, the debate can be expected to produce a reiteration by the Arab states and by Israel of their established position on the refugee problem, and the whole Palestine question. In this context, the Arabs would probably again propose the appointment of a UN custodian of Arab property in Israel.

Situation in the Middle East

It is unlikely that the Middle East situation will be discussed formally either in plenary or in one of the committees of the twenty-fourth session. It will probably, however, be the subject of a certain amount of informal discussion, and delegates and observers might find it useful to have the following brief summary of the Canadian position.

The Canadian Government believes that the full implementation of Security Council Resolution 242, adopted on November 22, 1967, offers the best available

means of achieving peace in the Middle East. The Canadian Government considers that this resolution meets the essential positions of the parties to the dispute and entails an equitable balance of obligations on both sides. The resolution represents a fair, balanced and non-prejudicial basis for the mission of the special representative of the Secretary-General.

The Canadian Government fully supports the mission of Ambassador Jarring, the special representative of the Secretary-General, to help promote a peaceful and agreed settlement to the Arab-Israeli dispute through the implementation of Resolution 242.

The Canadian Government supports the efforts being made by the United States, the U.S.S.R., Britain and France, in their capacity as permanent members of the Security Council, to assist Ambassador Jarring in the fulfillment of his mandate. It also supports the bilateral talks between the U.S.A. and the Soviet Union. At the time of writing, the bilateral talks are continuing, whereas the four-power talks have been recessed for the summer. It is expected that the four-power talks will resume once the twenty-fourth session of the United Nations General Assembly gets under way.

Effects of Atomic Radiation

The 15-member United Nations Scientific Committee on the Effects of Atomic Radiation (UNSCEAR) was established by the General Assembly at its tenth session to collect, study and disseminate information on the effects of nuclear radiation on man and his environment. The Committee will submit a comprehensive report to the twenty-fourth session. Comprehensive reports were prepared in 1958, 1962, 1964 and 1966. The Committee is also likely to recommend a new program of work, which can be expected to be less extensive in view of the declining levels of nuclear environmental contamination.

Second Committee

The Second Committee is the body in which matters of trade, aid and economic development are considered before being forwarded to plenary for approval. In view of the increasing attention being given within the United Nations to the problems of the economic development of the developing countries, the Second Committee has become one of the Assembly's more important committees. The Committee considers the reports of the Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC), the United Nations Development Program (UNDP), the Trade and Development Board of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD) and the Industrial Development Board of the United Nations Industrial Development Organization (UNIDO). In 1969, there will be heavy emphasis on the objectives and policy considerations of the

Second Development Decade. Another important item will be the proposed creation within the UN system of an organization dealing with tourism, as recommended by the Intergovernmental Tourism Conference of the International Union of Official Travel Organizations (IUOTO).

The 27-member Economic and Social Council not only serves as an executive body for the economic, social and human rights activities of the United Nations system but also provides a forum for discussion of the broad issues and policies and acts as preparatory body for the General Assembly in considering these questions. Canada's membership on the Council lapsed in December 1967 at the end of a three-year term. The only opportunity, therefore, for Canada to comment on the work of ECOSOC will be during the consideration of the Council's report on the Second Committee.

A preparatory committee for the Second United Nations Development Decade was established under General Assembly Resolution 2411 (XXIII) of December 17, 1968 to draw up an international development strategy for the 1970s to carry forward the objectives of the First Development Decade, which ends in 1970. Even though there has been agreement on the list of key areas for international co-operation for development, it has not been matched by a formal strategy or definition of objectives, especially in the field of trade and development. It seems certain that there will be considerable discussion on the report of the preparatory committee.

The International Union of Official Travel Organizations (IUOTO), established in 1947 as a non-governmental organization, enjoys consultative status with the Economic and Social Council. At a conference held in Sofia from May 15 to 28, 1969, a resolution was adopted inviting ECOSOC to approve the creation of an intergovernmental tourism organization within the UN system with membership based on the principle of universality. A report of the Secretary-General (E/4653) recommended the establishment of an *ad hoc* committee to study the co-ordination of tourist activities in the UN system. Discussion on the two proposals at the forty-seventh session of ECOSOC meeting in July was inconclusive and they have been referred to the resumed forty-seventh session of ECOSOC and to the General Assembly. The desirability of creating an intergovernmental organization instead of strengthening the existing IUOTO, and the financial and membership implications, will be the central problems to be considered.

Established in 1964 as an organ of the Assembly with its own Secretary-General and Secretariat in Geneva, the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD) is concerned with the trade and development problems of the developing countries. The Committee will consider the reports of the eighth and ninth sessions of the Trade and Development Board, which is the body that meets between Conferences. Developing countries will undoubtedly take advantage of this opportunity to renew their criticism of developed countries' restraints on the growth of aid levels, and in particular their uncompromising

attitude to trade measures that would increase and stabilize developing countries' export earnings. However, since the second session of UNCTAD was held in New Delhi in 1968, a Sugar Agreement has been successfully negotiated, developed countries are proceeding with the elaboration of a scheme of tariff preferences for the manufactured goods of developing countries, and considerable agreement has been reached on the nature of a financing scheme to supplement the foreign-exchange earnings of developing countries when these earnings decline unexpectedly. Developed countries will probably urge the developing countries not to underrate these achievements and to resist the temptation to press for commitments that few developed countries are prepared to make at this time.

The Committee will have before it a draft resolution submitted to it by ECOSOC recommending that the target for voluntary contributions by governments to the World Food Program (WFP) for 1971 and 1972 be \$300 million (U.S.). At least one-third of these contributions are to be in the form of cash or services, whereas the balance may be in the form of foodstuffs. The WFP effectively uses food for development, and Canada has actively supported the Program since its inception. Canada is the second-largest contributor to the WFP, after the U.S.A., and it is in the Canadian interest to encourage other donors to increase their WFP pledges. Although the target proposed for 1971 and 1972 is considerably higher than the target for 1969 and 1970 of \$200 million (U.S.), it is considered to be realistic, and one which the Assembly is expected to adopt.

The third session of the Industrial Development Board of UNIDA, held in Vienna April 24 to May 15, 1969, submitted a number of decisions to be discussed by the Second Committee. Amongst others, there will be a recommendation for increased and independent financing. The long-term role of UNIDO may also be discussed, particularly in the light of the part it will play in the Second Development Decade.

Other items on the agenda of the Second Committee which are likely to receive attention are the operations of the United Nations Development Program and, depending on the date of its publication, the capacity study of the UN development structure being concluded by Sir Robert Jackson could give rise to intensive corridor discussion and might even result in resolutions being tabled. The Pearson Commission report will be released before the twenty-fourth session and, although it is not an agenda item, it will undoubtedly influence the tenor of the discussions throughout the committee meetings.

Third Committee

From the provisional agenda it appears that there will be approximately seven items of major concern to be considered by the Third Committee. A number of other items, though included on the draft agenda, will probably

receive considerably less discussion and be matters of minor significance from the point of view of the Canadian delegation.

Item 48, concerning the Draft Declaration on Special Progress and Development, is likely to take up a large part of the Third Committee's time. In preparing a commentary on this item, the International Welfare Division of the Department of National Health and Welfare is expected to draw heavily on a memorandum prepared by the Legal Division of the Department of External Affairs, prior to the debate on this item last year. During the twenty-third session of the General Assembly, the preamble to the Draft Declaration was approved. However, little substantive progress was made on the operative sections of the Declaration. A concerted effort is to be made at this year's Assembly to achieve general agreement on the Draft Declaration and, while it is doubtful that the Declaration as a whole will be adopted, we can expect that considerable progress will be made.

Items 49, 50 and 51 concerning the UN High Commissioner for Refugees — housing, building and planning, and town-twinning respectively — are not expected to be particularly contentious. In all three cases, the Third Committee will consider a report prepared by the respective authorities, and it is expected to endorse the conclusions and recommendations made in these reports.

Item 52, concerning elimination of all form of religious intolerance is an item which has been on the agenda for a number of years and on which little progress has been made. During the twenty-third General Assembly, there was insufficient time for consideration of this item and it was put over to the twenty-fourth Assembly. It is not expected to be a major item this year.

Item 53, concerning the creation of the post of UN High Commissioner for Human Rights, is also a carry-over from previous Assemblies. The original Chilean proposal has received little support and has given rise to a number of objections, particularly by the Eastern Europeans and some neutral countries, which feel that the appointment of such an individual would be tantamount to a surrender of national sovereignty in the realm of human rights. The item may arouse considerable debate, but it is unlikely that a decision concerning the creation of such a position will be reached during this Assembly session.

Item 54 concerns the Draft Declaration and Draft Convention on Freedom of Information, and it is again unlikely that substantial progress will be made. Both the Draft Declaration and the Draft Convention have been under consideration for a number of years and the lack of agreement on what they should contain revolves largely around the philosophical question as to what freedom of information really means. Again, there is a divergence between the Eastern European and the "third world" countries and the Western European group.

Items 55, 56 and 57, concerning racial discrimination, racial intolerance, segregation and *apartheid*, are likely to take up a large part of the Assembly's time. All these items are politically very significant and give rise to passionate and emotional appeals from the developing countries.

Item 58, on the status of international covenants on economic, social and cultural rights and on civil and political rights, normally gives rise to a perfunctory debate, and it is expected that this will be the case again this year. The report of the Secretary-General normally outlines the number of signatories, ratifications and acceptances to these instruments and encourages those countries which have not yet done so to accede to them at an early date. There is usually little of a controversial or political nature involved in debate on this item.

Items 59 and 60, concerning the International Year for Human Rights and the implementation of the recommendations of the International Conference on Human Rights, are also expected to be reasonably perfunctory items. The report concerns the events which took place in 1968, and it is probable that it will be received with appreciation and that little further discussion will ensue. On the question of implementation of the recommendations of the Tehran Conference, there may be somewhat broader discussion in view of the 22 resolutions which were adopted at that conference, many of which call for further action on the part of governments. The item is, however, not likely to be contentious.

Item 61 is Respect for Human Rights in Armed Conflicts, and under this item it is possible that there will be questions arising from the Nigeria-Biafra dispute and the Arab-Israeli conflict. It is also possible that, as a result of the twenty-first International Conference of the Red Cross, which will take place in Istanbul early in September, a resolution may be put forward in the Third Committee calling for some form of more sophisticated international commissioner to co-ordinate civilian relief. If this is the case, the item may be one of major significance.

Item 62 concerns the education of youth and the respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms. The Secretary-General will submit a report which will form the basis of discussion on this item. It is a new item on the agenda and an effort is likely to be made to involve the younger element of the population in human rights activities. We are not aware at this point of any specific initiative in this regard and it is not likely that this item will take up a major part of the Committee's time.

There are a number of other items on the agenda which may or may not fall within the preserve of the Third Committee. Item 92 concerns the problems and needs of youth and its participation in national development. This item may concern itself with the question of the establishment of an international corps of volunteers under UN auspices arising from an initiative of the twenty-third General Assembly by the Iranian delegation. The item may be considered in either the Third or the Second Committee. A report from the forty-seventh session of ECOSOC, where this question was discussed, is expected shortly and may have some bearing on the instructions to be prepared for the Canadian delegation on this item. There are also items concerning International Education Year, Item 41, and "One Day of War for Peace", Item 42, and it is not yet

certain which committee these items will be discussed in. International Education Year has been declared for 1970 and the Secretary-General will report on the preparations which have been made for its celebration. The item entitled "One Day of War for Peace" is a Cambodia-Gabon initiative and calls upon countries of the world to devote the equivalent of one day's military expenditure for economic and social development. This item was discussed briefly last year and many delegations expressed the view that it was not a practical resolution in view of the fact that most countries were now devoting a significantly greater percentage of their resources for economic and social development than they would be called upon to do by the resolution. Again this item is not expected to be one of major concern.

Fourth Committee

The Fourth Committee considers colonial questions. In the past few years the pressure for rapid advance to self-government and independence has been so great that there has been a general discussion of colonialism in plenary, while individual territories are usually considered in the Fourth Committee. Thus it is possible to have a debate on a colonial territory proceeding in the Fourth Committee while plenary is discussing the report of the Special Committee of Twenty-Four on Colonialism. However, the Fourth Committee remains the focal point of the anti-colonial movement in the United Nations.

Basically, the aim behind the work of the Fourth Committee is to encourage the speedy political development of the remaining colonial territories. Three classes of colonial territory come within its field of responsibility :

(a) *Non-Self-Governing Territories*. There are some 50 of these, ranging from Angola and Mozambique to small island dependencies like St. Helena and the Falkland Islands.

(b) *Trust Territories*. Only two territories remain under the trusteeship agreements negotiated after the Second World War : Australian New Guinea and the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands, administered by the United States. Their administration is supervised by the Trusteeship Council, which reports annually to the General Assembly.

(c) *The Territory of South West Africa* (see below)

The hard-core colonial problems which will come before the Fourth Committee at this session can be narrowed to three : Rhodesia, the Portuguese territories in Africa, and South West Africa. In these territories, power is in the hands of a minority of European settlers, and the Africans, who constitute the overwhelming majority of the population, are still deprived of many basic political rights.

Namibia (formerly South West Africa)

South West Africa was the only mandated territory not placed under UN trusteeship after the world organization was established. Since then, repeated

attempts have failed to bring South Africa to acknowledge that it is answerable to the International Court in mid-1966 to render a judgment on the issue. At its twenty-first session, the General Assembly decided that the mandate under which South Africa administered South West Africa was terminated, and that henceforth the United Nations should exercise direct responsibility for the territory. At its fifth special session, from April to June 1967, the General Assembly established an 11-member UN Council to administer the territory and lead it to independence. Since then, both the General Assembly and the Security Council have sought in vain to obtain South African compliance with the General Assembly decision to assume responsibility for the territory, whose name was changed to Namibia by the General Assembly in June 1968. There will be demands at the twenty-fourth session for strong measures, such as economic sanctions, to bring about South African co-operation with the Council and withdrawal from the territory.

Rhodesia

Since Rhodesia's unilateral declaration of independence on November 11, 1965, there have been sustained efforts on the part of the world community to put an end to the rebellion. On December 16, 1966, the Security Council adopted a number of selective mandatory sanctions designed to cripple the Rhodesian economy and in this way bring about the downfall of the illegal regime. These sanctions were considerably broadened by the unanimous Security Council resolution of May 29, 1968. Since the regime continues in power, there will be criticism that sanctions have not been effective. There will also be pressure from many African and Asian states on Britain to use force to end the rebellion, and demands that sanctions be extended to South Africa and Portugal, which have not been applying them to Rhodesia. Canada has consistently supported the sanctions against Rhodesia but has spoken against the use of force.

Portuguese Territories

The Fourth Committee is likely to adopt further recommendations seeking to persuade Portugal to accept the principle of self-determination and to co-operate with the United Nations in preparing the peoples of Angola, Mozambique, etc., for eventual self-government and independence. In addition, the African states may try to strengthen these recommendations and to isolate Portugal further by, as in the past, bringing in resolutions calling for various forms of economic sanction against it, as well as a total ban on military and technical assistance. Canada believes that Portugal should recognize the right of self-determination but differs with the majority over the means necessary to achieve this objective. Canada has complied with a Security Council resolution asking member states not to ship arms to Portuguese territories, but has not agreed with other measures proposed by African states, including a trade embargo and the rupture of diplomatic relations.

Fifth Committee

Administrative and budgetary questions are assigned to the Fifth Committee. Some of the principal items before the twenty-fourth session will be :

Report of Committee on Contributions

The Committee on Contributions is an expert committee established by the General Assembly to recommend to the Assembly the scale of assessments according to which the expenses of the United Nations are to be apportioned. The scale is reviewed periodically by the Committee, which assigns a percentage of the total expenses in the regular budget to each member state according to its relative capacity to pay. The scale is determined in the first instance by comparing the national-accounts data of member states. However, the Committee is also required to take into account certain other principles and factors, as laid down in the various directives of the General Assembly : the "ceiling" principle, which provides that no member state should pay more than 30 per cent of the total budget and in accordance with which the U.S. assessment is being gradually reduced to that figure; the "*per capita* ceiling" principle, which stipulates that the *per capita* contribution of any member state should not exceed that of the member paying the highest assessment, namely the United States; the "floor rate", which sets the minimum rate of assessment at 0.04 per cent; and the provision of special allowances for low *per capita* income countries. Over the objections of several of the major contributors at the twenty-third session, the General Assembly adopted a resolution which asked the Committee on Contributions to review the foregoing criteria, as well as the others employed in establishing the assessment scale, and to report to the General Assembly at its twenty-fourth session whether or not those terms of reference were still appropriate and sufficiently precise. The report of the Committee on Contributions to the twenty-fourth session indicates that its membership considers that the criteria and terms of reference heretofore used in establishing the scale of assessments retain their validity. In 1967, the Assembly approved a scale of assessments devised by the Committee on Contributions for the years 1968-1970. Under that scale, Canada's assessment was established at 3.02 per cent of the net budget of the United Nations. Canada is the eighth-largest contributor, following the five permanent members of the Security Council and Italy and Japan. At present, of a total membership of 126 countries, 61 are assessed at the minimum rate of .04 per cent under the existing scale.

Approval of 1970 Budget Estimates

After approving the financial accounts of the United Nations for the 1968 financial year and any supplementary estimates required for 1969, the Fifth Committee will be called upon to approve the budget estimates for the 1969 financial year, aided by the report of the Advisory Committee on Administrative and Budgetary Questions (ACABQ). The gross expenditures proposed by the

Secretary-General in the 1970 budget estimates are \$164,123,200. This figure is \$9,207,950 more than the 1969 appropriation of \$154,915,250. At this stage, the budget estimates do not provide for certain expenditures whose amounts cannot yet be estimated, most notably the exact sum to be spent under the regular United Nations program of technical co-operation. Nor do they include estimates of expenditures resulting from decisions taken by the Economic and Social Council at its summer session or to be taken by the General Assembly this autumn, which will be the subject of revised estimates later this year. If past performance can be taken to be a guide, when all the additional items have been precisely estimated, they may well have the effect of adding a further \$4-5 million to the Secretary-General's initial request. A major area of contention during the debate on the 1970 budget estimates will probably be the April 1969 *démarche* on the part of the four largest contributors to the United Nations (the United States, Britain, the U.S.S.R. and France), which had as its aim the imposition of a ceiling on the United Nations budget that will allow only for the small adjustments inevitable because of past commitments and inflationary pressures. The intention of the four major powers was to bar any increase in expenditure, particularly with regard to new employment, at least until such time as a committee of experts should complete a manpower utilization study recommended by the ACABQ and ordered by the General Assembly at the twenty-third session. (Personnel costs make up the largest single portion of the United Nations budget. In 1969, for example, they totalled \$68,495,300, or more than 44 per cent of that year's budget. The 1970 estimate for salaries and wages is in the order of \$74 million, with the increase due to new salary rates approved at the twenty-third General Assembly and a smaller portion attributable to program expansion.) The developing world is likely to take the position that an attempt to limit the budget in this fashion would, if successful, severely restrict the Secretary-General's plans for new and approved social and economic programs.

After detailed consideration in the Fifth Committee of the budget estimates, the Advisory Committee's recommendations and any further submissions by the Secretary-General, the budget will be acted upon by the General Assembly in plenary session. Adoption of the budget by the Assembly after debate requires a two-thirds majority of those present and voting.

Personnel Questions

In its discussion of personnel questions, the Fifth Committee will again consider the Secretary-General's report on the composition of the Secretariat and other personnel matters and will discuss the progress achieved towards realizing the objective of "equitable geographical distribution" of professional postings in the United Nations Secretariat. At its seventeenth session, the General Assembly established guide-lines to govern equitable geographical distribution by approving "desirable ranges" for each member state. The Secretary-General

prepared a report to the twenty-third session concerning the composition of the Secretariat, which indicated that a number of steps had been taken towards achieving the equitable balance required. Also at the twenty-third session, the Committee considered the question of working languages within the Secretariat. The Canadian delegation played an active part, with other *francophone* countries, in the formulation of a resolution designed to increase the use of French throughout the United Nations Secretariat. The resolution, which was successful, also provided for the greater use of Spanish and Russian in the General Assembly and the Security Council, which, therefore, will also lead to an increased use of these languages in the Secretariat. The proposal to pay language bonuses to those members of the Secretariat with fluency in more than one working language, which had been incorporated in a resolution passed at the twenty-second session, was not pursued. Instead a resolution co-sponsored by the French-speaking and Spanish-speaking countries provided different incentives for the professional staff. First, promotion from one grade to another would be conditional upon adequate and confirmed knowledge of a second working language. Second, such knowledge would permit accelerated progression within each grade. The Secretary-General is, however, permitted to promote staff members who do not have the required language qualifications if he deems it necessary for the proper functioning of the Secretariat. The resolution, which received broad support, also provided for the intensification of the language-training program within the Secretariat. The Secretary-General, in his report to the twenty-fourth General Assembly, will no doubt comment on the progress of the implementation of the various aspects of this resolution. There are two other reports which will be of interest to the Fifth Committee, the first of which is the report of the Committee on the Reorganization of the Secretariat. This Committee was established at the twenty-second session and reported to the Secretary-General in November 1968. However, it was not possible in the time remaining for debate at the twenty-third session to discuss thoroughly the wide-ranging recommendations which the Special Committee made in its report. The other study which will be of interest to the Assembly, if it can be completed in time for discussion, will be that of the group of experts conducting a manpower-utilization survey. The survey, which is being conducted on a desk-by-desk basis, will be important in determining the size of the Secretariat in the future and also the allocation of Secretariat resources over the next few years.

Sixth Committee

Report of the International Law Commission on the Work of its Twenty-first Session

The International Law Commission (ILC), a United Nations organ composed of 25 legal experts elected in their personal capacities to represent the various legal systems of the world, for the purpose of the codification and progressive

development of international law, will report on the work of its twenty-first session, which was held in Geneva from June 2 to August 8, 1969. The program of work of the Commission included consideration of the following topics : (1) Relations Between States and Inter-Governmental Organizations; (2) Succession of States and Governments; (3) State Responsibility; and (4) The Most-Favoured-Nation Clause.

Report of the Committee on Friendly Relations and Co-operation among States

This Committee, established in 1964, numbers 31 members, including Canada. It undertook to develop and codify seven principles of international law flowing from the UN Charter in the area of friendly relations and co-operation among states — formerly called “peaceful co-existence”. These principles deal with (1) the prohibition of the threat or use of force; (2) the peaceful settlement of disputes; (3) non-intervention; (4) the equal rights and self-determination of peoples; (5) the sovereign equality of states; (6) the duty of co-operation between member states; and (7) the duty of member states to fulfill their obligations under the Charter. The Committee has already formulated four of the seven principles but has yet to agree on the principles of prohibition of the threat or use of force, non-intervention and equal rights and self-determination of peoples. The debate on these principles have been complicated by disagreement on whether they should be adopted by consensus — which is the Canadian view — or by majority. The Committee is meeting in New York from August 18 to September 19, and its report will be considered by the General Assembly this autumn.

Report of the Special Committee on the Question of Defining Aggression

The definition of aggression has been the subject of many efforts over several years within the ILC, as well as the General Assembly, the Sixth Committee and various special committees. To date, it has not been possible to reach agreement on a definition. Canada is a member of the 35-country Committee, which met in New York from February 24 to April 3, 1969, and which will report to the General Assembly this session. Canada co-sponsored a definition of aggression directed towards ensuring that Charter principles would be upheld and that the Security Council's special responsibilities would be recognized. Definitions were also submitted by the U.S.S.R. and by other delegations.

Technical Assistance to Promote Teaching, Study, Dissemination and Wider Appreciation of International Law

During the eighteenth session in 1963, a special committee was established to elaborate practical methods for helping member states, particularly those in developing areas, to disseminate a wider knowledge and appreciation of the principles of international law. A program of training in international law

was established as one of the means to this end. A number of countries suggested that its cost be included in the regular United Nations budget. Canada and some other states opposed this and recommended that the program be financed by voluntary contributions. A compromise was eventually arrived at whereby it is to be financed partly by the United Nations and partly by voluntary contributions. The Department of External Affairs is at present engaged in consultations with the Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA) with a view to making available through the United Nations a scholarship for a student from a developing country to study international law at a Canadian university.

Amendment to Article 22 of Statute of International Court of Justice and Consequential Amendments

The President of the International Court of Justice requested the Secretary-General on May 16, 1969, to include this item on the provisional agenda of the twenty-fourth session. A draft resolution was also forwarded to the Secretary-General. This resolution would amend Article 22 of the Statute of the Court to the effect that the seat of the Court would be "at The Hague or at such other place as shall at any time be approved by the General Assembly on the recommendation of the Court". Consequential amendments would be made to Article 23 and 28.

Draft Convention on Special Missions

The International Law Commission has prepared draft articles governing the terms and conditions under which states may send and receive special missions, i.e. diplomatic missions sent for a specific and temporary purpose, as distinguished from embassies etc., which are permanent diplomatic missions. At the last twenty-third session, the Sixth Committee began drafting a convention based on the ILC draft articles. It adopted 29 articles, leaving 21 articles to be adopted at the forthcoming session. The main issue before the Sixth Committee is the determination of the privileges and immunities of members of special missions. The Canadian view is that these privileges and immunities should be no greater than is required to enable the special mission to fulfil its objective.

Declaration and Resolution adopted by the United Nations Conference on the Law of Treaties

The diplomatic conference which adopted the 1969 Vienna Convention on the Law of Treaties also adopted a number of declarations and resolutions, three of which are to be brought to the attention of the General Assembly.

The Declaration on Universal Participation in the Vienna Convention on the Law of Treaties invites the General Assembly to examine at its twenty-fourth session the question of issuing invitations in order to ensure the widest possible participation in the Convention. The signature and accession articles

of the Convention already permit virtually all states generally recognized as such to become parties to the Convention. Consequently, the issue raised by this Declaration is whether entities claiming to be states but not generally recognized as such (e.g. East Germany) are to be invited by the General Assembly to adhere to the Convention.

The Resolution relating to Article I of the Convention recommends that the General Assembly ask the International Law Commission to study the question of treaty-making by international organizations, a subject not covered by the Convention.

The Resolution relating to Article 66 of the Convention asks the General Assembly to note the provisions in the Convention that the expenses of any conciliation commission established pursuant to the annex to the Convention are to be borne by the UN.

Report of UN Commission on International Trade Law

UNCITRAL was established by the General Assembly in 1966 to promote the development, unification and codification of private law regulating international trade and the harmonization of international trade practice. The second session of the Commission took place in Geneva in March of this year. The third session will take place in New York in April 1970. Consideration of the Commission's report may include discussion of the role of the Commission in the development of shipping law (where UNCTAD and IMCO are also active) and the financial implications of the Commission's proposed program of work.

The International Labor Organization

INTERNATIONAL STANDARDS FOR SOCIAL JUSTICE

INTERNATIONAL standards of justice, freedom and equality have long been a dream of mankind — and will, no doubt, remain so. The League of Nations was founded on high principles, yet it failed.

It might be thought that the idea of international law to ensure a just and equitable world would be eagerly embraced. In fact, such proposals, praised in the abstract, are generally debated in detail and then rejected. For political or diplomatic reasons, it is claimed, they will not work.

Yet the Treaty of Versailles gave birth to an international organization that is today unique in the world. Unique because it is the only global organization representing employers, workers and governments. Unique, also, in its record of a half-century of striving for social and economic justice throughout the world.

This body is the International Labor Organization, which this year celebrates its fiftieth anniversary. Canada is a founding member.

The ILO was set up to justify, in action, the conviction that “universal and lasting peace can be established only if it is based on social justice”.

Since its inception, the Organization has striven to start governments, workers and employers debating and resolving their most critical differences and problems by discussion and consensus, thereby setting up basic labor standards that can be ratified by member states, to protect and elevate working and living conditions of working people all over the world.

Origin of Labor Code

This work has resulted in the International Labor Code, comprising nearly 300 instruments setting out basic world standards in such major fields as industrial relations, employment conditions, social security, human rights, protection of women and young persons at work, vocational training and guidance, labor standards and industrial safety and health.

Codes of safety practice for various types of industry, training and development courses for management and workers, agreements for the protection of native peoples, of handicapped and migratory workers, and of women and children, commissions to investigate complaints of violation of fundamental rights, conferences to standardize world labor techniques and statistics — all these and many others have been developed by meetings of world experts under the leadership of the ILO.

Before the First World War, there were a number of conventions on the subject of the international protection of labor, but there was no general

international organization charged with the duty of systematizing and directing this movement. However, Article 23(a) of the Covenant of the League of Nations provided that the members of the League should "endeavour to secure and maintain fair and humane conditions of labor for men, women and children . . . and for that purpose will establish and maintain the necessary international organizations". Thus was born the International Labor Organization, now a Specialized Agency of the League's successor, the United Nations.

ILO Constitution

The constitution of the ILO embodies features that in several ways signify a departure from traditional forms of international organization and from accepted doctrines of international law. This applies in particular to the provisions relating to delegates of employers and employees representation and participation in the work of the Organization, and in the process of the elaboration of labor conventions. While the UN is an organization of states, the ILO is to some extent based on a different principle. Although the representatives of employers and employees are appointed by the various states, the latter are under an obligation to appoint them in accordance with the provisions of the Treaty, and to leave them full freedom of action at the Conference.

The final decision on adoption of conventions and amendments to the constitution rests with the member governments, but any such action is conditioned by the initiative of the Conference, in which state representatives constitute only half the total number of delegates.

The constitution of the Organization thus signifies a limited but important departure from the principle generally followed in international law that only states may take part in the creation of new rules of international law and that only the interests of states as such are entitled to direct representation in the international sphere.

The constitution also introduces an exception to the principle of unanimity by laying down that a majority of two-thirds is sufficient for the adoption of a convention or recommendation, which the member governments are then bound to submit to their legislative authorities whether they voted for it or not.

Another departure is the obligation to communicate information concerning the actual implementation of provisions of conventions and recommendations that have not been accepted by (or, in the case of conventions, not ratified by) and, therefore, are not binding upon members. This reveals the novel principle that mere membership of the Organization implies certain obligations that are not of a purely formal character.

Finally, there is the provision for enforcement of conventions against states failing to comply with their obligations, as well as the power of censure, and the general recognition of the compulsory jurisdiction of the International Court of Justice with regard to certain legal interpretations.

The General Conference has no legal powers itself; its proposals take one

of two forms, either an international convention, or, to meet circumstances not considered suitable for a convention, a recommendation. A convention or recommendation thus adopted is communicated to all members for ratification or, in the case of a recommendation, for consideration with a view to action by national legislation or otherwise.

The system is far from being utopian. But the ILO by its very presence — by bringing together workers, employers and governments — is a unique force in the search for economic and social development and justice in the world based on international law and agreement.



General Francisco Morales Bermudez, Peruvian Minister of Finance (front, left), and the Honorable Jean-Luc Pepin, Canada's Minister of Industry, Trade and Commerce (front, right), sign a financing agreement for the sale of 200,000 metric tons of Canadian wheat to Peru.

Montebello Conference

DURING the first two days of May 1969, there took place in Montebello, Quebec, under the chairmanship of the Under-Secretary of State, Mr. Marcel Cadieux, an important discussion of the subject the "Co-ordination of Federal Cultural Activities Abroad".

Apart from the Department of External Affairs and the Secretary of State Department, whose delegations were led by their respective deputy ministers, all federal bodies concerned with some aspect of Canadian cultural activities abroad were represented. Representatives were also sent by the heads of the Canadian International Development Agency, the Public Archives and National Library, the Canada Council, the National Arts Centre, the National Research Council, the Canadian Government Exhibition Commission, the National Museums of Canada (National Gallery, National Museum of Man, National Museum of Natural Sciences, National Museum of Science and Technology), the National Film Board, the Canadian Radio-Television Commission and the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation and the Treasury Board and the Privy Council.

The Secretary of State for External Affairs, Mr. Sharp, and the Secretary of State, Mr. Pelletier, chaired the closing session.

The discussion enabled the government organizations represented to determine the present state of their cultural activities abroad and to examine the existing links between external policy and cultural relations. The talks made it clear that the best interest of all concerned, including the Government, required the maximum co-ordination of Canadian activities abroad in the realms of culture and art, and the institution of appropriate measures to harmonize the programs of the various organizations, to make them fully profitable considering the limits of available resources and government objectives with regard to external policy.

Summation by Mr. Sharp

At the closing dinner, Mr. Sharp summed up the results of the two-days study as follows:

"For a very long time, cultural relations have been a peripheral subject of interest to our diplomats, and in the short history of our foreign service, a mere 40 years, we must admit that the military, political and trade aspects of external relations have attracted most attention in terms of the personnel, time and money devoted to their study. But now, and for some years, we have been able to pay more attention to the great interest of Canadians in the arts."

Referring incidentally to Canada's new defence policy, the Minister stated:

"This does not mean that we plan a retreat into diplomatic isolation. On the contrary, we intend to strengthen our associations with Europe by other

means, and it seems to me that we can do this with a well-thought-out and co-ordinated plan of cultural relations with foreign countries.

"The means to ensure this harmonization is not, in my opinion, by direction or by regulation: it is by the sharing of information, by consultation and, whenever it is mutually beneficial, by agreement between the interested Departments and agencies. My department is prepared to pull its full weight in assuming this co-ordinating role.

"The meeting that we have held these past two days will have been a major step forward in that direction if each one of you takes back with him some of the enthusiasm that I feel, and am sure you share, for exploring together the vast new field of Canadian exchanges abroad that cultural relations open for us."

Mr. Pelletier stressed the importance of the Canadian bilingualism and biculturalism policy, and emphasized the influence of the new mass-communication media on such exchanges.

Visit of Armenian Catholicos

His Holiness Khoren I, Catholicos and spiritual leader of the Armenian Apostolic Church, spent two weeks in Canada during July. The principal purpose of the pontiff's presence was to visit the Armenian communities in Ottawa, Montreal, Toronto and Hamilton.

On July 24, His Holiness called on Prime Minister Pierre Elliott Trudeau and the Secretary of State for External Affairs, the Honorable Mitchell Sharp. He bestowed on the Prime Minister the Grand Cross of the Order of the House of Cilicia, the highest ecclesiastical distinction conferred by his Church. The Catholicos expressed to both Mr. Trudeau and Mr. Sharp his gratitude for the welcome Canada had extended to Armenian immigrants over the years. His Holiness was accompanied by two archbishops of the Armenian Apostolic Church and by the Lebanese Ambassador to Canada, His Excellency Dr. Alif Gébara.



His Holiness Khoren I, Catholicos of the Armenian Church, attended by two Armenian archbishops, chats with Canada's Secretary of State for External Affairs, the Honorable Mitchell Sharp.

Algerian Administrative Trainees Visit

FROM July 1 to 31, 1969, 34 graduates of Algeria's National School of Administration visited Canada, as guests of the Federal Government, to complete their training as senior officials.

The greater part of the training period, organized by the Department of External Affairs and the Canadian International Development Agency, involved a series of conferences and specialized visits to such federal departments as External Affairs, Transport, Communications and Regional Development, and to certain government agencies, notably the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation, Air Canada, Central Mortgage and Housing Corporation and the CIDA.

After acquiring a general knowledge of the administrative and legal machinery of the Federal Government, the Algerian trainees spent three days in Quebec studying the system of government of that province, where they were the guests of the Departments of Education, Intergovernmental Affairs and Public Works.

They were introduced to the municipal level of Canadian government during a three-day stay in Montreal, where they also had an opportunity to visit the exhibition *Man and His World*. During their leisure hours, the visitors from Algeria were able to do some sightseeing in Quebec City, Montreal, Kingston and Niagara Falls.



Algerian public service trainees attend a talk on transportation in Canada by a senior member of the Department of Transport.

CONFERENCES

UNCTAD Trade and Development Board, ninth session: Geneva, August 23 - September 12
World Conference on Bird Hazards to Aircraft: Kingston, Ontario, September 2-5
International Red Cross Conference, twenty-first session: Istanbul, September 13-16
Commonwealth Conference on Speakers and Presiding Officers: Ottawa, September 8-12
United Nations General Assembly, twenty-fourth session: New York, September 16
Universal Postal Union, sixteenth congress: Tokyo, October 1 - November 14
Commonwealth Parliamentary Association, general conference: Port-of-Spain, October 4-19
Colombo Plan Consultative Committee : Victoria, B.C., October 14-31
North Atlantic Assembly, fifteenth annual conference: Brussels, October 27-31
Interparliamentary Union, fifty-seventh interparliamentary conference: New Delhi, October 30 - November 7
Food and Agriculture Organization, fifteenth session: Rome, November 8-27
Association internationale des Parlementaires de Langue française, second annual conference: Tunisia, January 1970

APPOINTMENTS, TRANSFERS AND RESIGNATIONS IN THE DEPARTMENT OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS

Mr. A. P. Sherwood posted from the Canadian Embassy, The Hague, to Ottawa, effective June 10, 1969.
Mr. R. C. Smith posted from the Canadian High Commission, New Delhi, to Ottawa, effective June 25, 1969.
Mr. W. C. J. Poirier posted from the Canadian Embassy, Kinshasa, to Ottawa, effective June 28, 1969.
Miss B. E. Van Snellenberg resigned from the Department of External Affairs, effective July 4, 1969.
Mr. W. J. Mullins resigned from the Department of External Affairs, effective July 21, 1969.
Mr. B. Northgrave appointed to the Department of External Affairs as Foreign Service Officer 2, effective July 21, 1969.
Mr. L. A. Nadon appointed to the Department of External Affairs as Personnel Administration 1, effective July 28, 1969.
Mr. D. R. Punter appointed to the Department of External Affairs as Economist 1, effective July 28, 1969.

EXTERNAL AFFAIRS

*External Affairs is issued monthly in English and French by the
Department of External Affairs, Ottawa.*

*It provides reference material on Canada's external relations
and reports the current work and activities of the Department.*

Any material in this publication may be reproduced.

Citation of External Affairs as the source would be appreciated.

*Subscription rates: Canada, the United States and Mexico,
\$2.00 a year; other countries, \$2.50; students in Canada,
the United States and Mexico, \$1.00 a year; in other
countries, \$1.50. Subscriptions are sent post free.*

*Remittances, payable to the Receiver General of Canada,
should be sent to the Queen's Printer, Ottawa, Canada.*

*Authorized as Second Class Mail, Post Office Department,
Ottawa.*

Published by authority of
the Honorable Mitchell Sharp
Secretary of State for External Affairs

Vol. XXI, No. 10

Contents

October 1969

Canada and the Countries of Latin America	360
Consultative Assembly of the Council of Europe	362
Visit of British Secretary of State for Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs	364
The Riddell Affair Reconsidered	366
Canadian Cultural Events in Italy	376
The International Labor Organization	377
Conferences	379
Appointments, Transfers and Resignations in the Department of External Affairs	380

Canada and the Countries of Latin America

EXCERPTS FROM AN ADDRESS BY THE HONORABLE MITCHELL SHARP,
SECRETARY OF STATE FOR EXTERNAL AFFAIRS, AT THE INAUGURATION
CEREMONY, FOURTEENTH CONGRESS OF THE INTERNATIONAL INSTITUTE
OF LATIN AMERICAN LITERATURE, TORONTO, AUGUST 24, 1969.

FOR many reasons, it gave me great pleasure to accept your invitation to open this Fourteenth Congress on Latin American Literature. Diplomacy and literature may not always be closely associated in the public mind; yet their practice has been united with distinction by many diplomats, and not least by those of Latin America. I am happy to say that we have several notable instances in Canada as well. I should like to think of my presence here tonight as due, at least in part, to this happy and mutually fruitful relationship . . .

This is, of course, the first time your Institute has held its Congress in Canada. It is highly appropriate that it should do so at the present point in history. Canada and Latin America share a hemisphere, but until a very recent period they went their separate ways in almost total mutual indifference. A Canadian business community has been active in many countries of Latin America, and Canadian missionaries, both Protestant and Roman Catholic, have made a substantial contribution to the religious life of Latin America. Latin America was known in Canada as a source of tropical products and dance music. These contacts, though not to be despised, led, it is hardly necessary to say, to each side having a limited, one-dimensional, picture of the character and capabilities of the other.

Rate of Change Accelerates

In recent years, however, this situation has begun to change. Modern communications and transport have brought Canada and the Latin American countries much closer to each other in time and space. Trade between the two has increased and continues to increase substantially, and has diversified into almost every major field. Canadians have begun to visit Latin America in significant numbers, and more and more Latin Americans, travelling for business and pleasure, have come to know Canada directly. Most striking of all, the study of Latin America as an area and of Spanish and Portuguese language and literature, for long almost entirely ignored by Canadian universities, is now under way on a major scale. Several Canadian universities now offer well-rounded programs of Latin American studies, and many more offer courses in the Ibero-American languages and literatures. Canadians have gone in small but increasing numbers to Latin America to study in Latin American universities,

and I am glad to say that the University of Toronto, our host, has pioneered in bringing Latin American students and scholars to Canada. This trend was, as it were, formally recognized only two months ago, when the Canadian Association of Latin American Studies, a new learned society uniting scholars wholly or partly devoted to the study of Latin America in several disciplines, was established.

This increased awareness of Latin America, and particularly of Latin American culture, is a source of great satisfaction to me personally. I have had occasion to spend considerable time in Brazil and to become acquainted with some of the major works of Brazilian literature. As anyone must be, I was impressed by that literature's individuality, depth, and range of subjects. This Congress will certainly bring the wealth and variety of Latin American literature to the attention of the public in Canada, and in so doing it will have made a significant contribution to greater mutual understanding of the peoples of the hemisphere.

This increased Canadian awareness of Latin America, as many of you already know, has been reflected in the policy of the Canadian Government. In May 1968, a review of all the major areas of Canadian foreign policy was requested by the Prime Minister. One of these areas was Latin America. Since that time, a task force of the ministers and officials concerned with Canadian relations with the area has been actively engaged in an exchange of views with both Latin Americans and Canadians in many fields. A mission at ministerial level visited nine Latin American countries and held talks with Latin American political, economic and cultural leaders. The task force is now in the final stages of preparing a report to the Government. This report has not yet been received or discussed by the Cabinet, and I cannot, therefore, comment in detail on its recommendations here, even if time allowed me to do so. However, I am able to assure you that the cultural dimension of Canadian relations has been in the forefront of the task force's thinking from the very beginning of the review. We believe that this is an area in which Canada can benefit greatly from increased contacts, as well as one in which it has something to offer. I expect that the policy review will inaugurate a new and far more active era of cultural exchanges between Canada and Latin America, exchanges of scientific and academic personnel and in the performing and creative arts. It will not, of course, be possible to do everything at once, particularly in view of the financial limitations within which the Government must work at present. Nonetheless, a new course has been set for Canada in this field, and I hope that as many as possible of those of you present tonight will in due course participate in the programs we hope to set up.

Consultative Assembly of the Council of Europe

CANADIAN PARTICIPATION IN TWENTY-FIRST SESSION

THE Consultative Assembly of the Council of Europe held the first part of its twenty-first regular session from May 12 to 16 under the chairmanship of Mr. Olivier Reverdin of Switzerland. The Council of Europe, whose headquarters are at Strasbourg on the Franco-German frontier, is the oldest and largest political structure in Western Europe dedicated to European unification. It brings together countries of the European Free Trade Association (EFTA), the European Common Market and NATO, as well as certain neutral countries of Europe. When it was founded in 1949, it included ten countries, whereas it now has 18 members. Its Consultative Assembly now constitutes a meeting-place where some 147 parliamentarians can make contact, exchange ideas and discuss important European problems of the day, even though they are empowered only to make recommendations.

On the occasion of the twentieth anniversary of the organization, three heads of government, Messrs Couve de Murville (France), Rumor (Italy) and Borg Olivier (Malta), addressed the Assembly. Two foreign affairs ministers, Willy Brandt (West Germany) and Pietro Nenni (Italy), also made speeches. Discussions concerned territorial development and local authority; the activities of the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD), which had submitted its annual report to the Assembly; the traffic in arms to Nigeria; the fate of the Jewish communities in non-member countries; and fisheries policy in Europe.

Economic and Political Situation

But it was discussion of the economic and political situation that received the greatest amount of attention. Before the session came to a close, the Assembly unanimously adopted a resolution outlining three possible ways of achieving European union :

- (1) the calling of a "summit" conference of The Six, and of the countries seeking admission to the Common Market, with a view to opening negotiations on the enlargement of the European Community;
- (2) the study of this question by the Council of Europe, with the aid of qualified experts, if it should prove impossible to convene a summit conference within a reasonable time;
- (3) the search for partial agreement in areas not covered by the Treaty of Rome in order to revive a strong impulse toward European Unity. (The Committee of Ministers will study the text of this resolution at its meeting in December).

Before dispersing, the parliamentarians issued an appeal to all the governments of Western and Eastern Europe requesting the establishment of a general embargo on the delivery of arms to Nigeria and Biafra. The Assembly launched another appeal to the Governments of the Soviet Union and Poland, asking them to prohibit all anti-Semitic propaganda and to restore the rights of their Jewish communities.

Last February, the Honorable Sir Geoffrey de Freitas, then President of the Consultative Assembly, invited Canada to send a parliamentary delegation to this twenty-first session. Canada accepted the invitation to participate as an observer. This decision was made as a result of Canada's desire to develop its relations not only with individual European countries but also with multilateral agencies such as the Council of Europe. The Canadian delegation was made up of Senators Martin, Deschatelets, Aird and Flynn, and Members of Parliament Macdonald, Baldwin and Buchanan. The Honorable Donald Macdonald, President of the Privy Council and Government Leader in the House of Commons, had already represented Canada at a similar conference in January 1967. The afternoon of May 14 was reserved for an exchange of views between European and Canadian parliamentarians, their principal theme being the prospects of relations between Canada and a Europe in search of unity, particularly in areas relating to aid to the developing countries. Messrs Martin and Macdonald delivered speeches to the Assembly and the Canadian delegates then had to answer questions on a variety of subjects, such as defence, immigration, social problems, financial aid, *la Francophonie*, supranational companies, investments, the export of forest produce, Canadian grain policies, the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD) and the slaughter of baby seals.

The consensus among European and Canadian delegates was that the meeting had been useful and interesting. Canada's delegates were able to set forth precisely their country's policies and reservations on various problems. They also took advantage of the opportunity to acquaint themselves with certain agreements concluded under the aegis of the Council of Europe, including the European convention for the protection of human rights and fundamental freedoms. The delegation of Canada was impressed by the extensive work being done by the European Commission, which was created in order to ensure respect for the rights and freedoms guaranteed by the Convention. This Commission could be of some importance to Canada, since it has engaged in study and legal pioneering in fields that could affect Canada, in which it would perhaps be in its interest to share in one way or another.

There was a general agreement that this meeting should be followed by others, to establish a constant dialogue between Canadian and European parliamentarians. Both sides share this hope, and it has been suggested that meetings of a similar nature should take place regularly, possibly every two years, alternating between Strasbourg and Ottawa.

Visit of British Secretary of State for Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs

ON SEPTEMBER 13, 1969, the Right Honorable Michael Stewart arrived at Montreal International Airport to be met by the British High Commissioner, Sir Colin Crowe, Lady Crowe and other members of the British High Commission and the Canadian Department of External Affairs to begin a busy four-day schedule in Canada. During his stay, Mr. Stewart and his party, including Mrs. Stewart and Mr. P. T. Hayman, a British Under-Secretary of



The Right Honorable Michael Stewart, British Secretary of State for Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs (left), walks from the Center Block of Canada's Parliament Buildings toward the East Block, accompanied by the Honorable Mitchell Sharp, Canada's Secretary of State for External Affairs.

State, visited Ottawa, Toronto and Montreal before proceeding to the United Nations General Assembly in New York.

The visit began, under bright late-summer skies, with a drive from Montreal to the Government of Canada Guest House at 7 Rideau Gate, Ottawa, where Mr. Stewart was officially welcomed by the Honorable Mitchell Sharp, Secretary of State for External Affairs. On Sunday evening, Mr. Sharp gave a dinner in honor of Mr. and Mrs. Stewart at the Country Club.

On Monday morning a round of official talks took place between the two ministers and their officials. Discussions covered a wide range of topics, including NATO, East-West relations, the Middle East, the Commonwealth Caribbean, African problems and the British application to join the European Economic Community. In the afternoon, Prime Minister Trudeau and Mr. Stewart met briefly. Subsequently, Mr. Stewart held a press conference at the National Press Club. He and Mrs. Stewart were later received by Governor-General and Mrs. Michener. The day ended with a dinner in honor of the Secretary of State given by the British High Commissioner at his residence, Earnscliffe.

The Toronto program on September 16 included a visit to the British Government office, an address to a lunch meeting of the Canadian and Empire Clubs at the Royal York Hotel, and calls on the Lieutenant-Governor of Ontario, the Honorable Ross Macdonald, the Prime Minister of Ontario, the Honorable John Robarts, and the Mayor of Toronto, His Worship William Dennison, and the Chairman of Metropolitan Toronto, Mr. William Allen. In the evening there was an interview on the television network of the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation.

On Wednesday the party travelled to Montreal, where they first visited the British Government office. Later Mr. Stewart held a press and television interview. Next he called on His Worship Mayor Jean Drapeau at the Hôtel de Ville, whence he and his party proceeded to Hélène de Champlain restaurant, where the Mayor was host at a lunch for the British guests. After a brief tour of the city, the visitors left for New York, where Mr. Stewart was to attend the twenty-fourth session of the United Nations General Assembly.

*The Riddell Affair Reconsidered**

ON NOVEMBER 2, 1935, Canada began a month of unsought and increasingly uncomfortable prominence in international affairs. On that day, the "Canadian proposal" for the extension of sanctions against Italy was moved at the League of Nations by Dr. W. A. Riddell, Canadian Advisory Officer.

An exchange of telegrams between Riddell and Ottawa tells the now familiar story. On November 2, Riddell cabled :

"After consultation with main delegation this morning moved in Committee of Eighteen that petroleum, coal, iron and steel be added to list in Proposal No. 4. Proposal referred for consideration to Economic Sub-Committee." ⁽¹⁾

On November 4, Ottawa sent this reply :

"I have noted with much surprise from your brief statement in the above telegram and more lengthy press despatches that without authorization you took the initiative in moving certain additional articles be added to the list in Proposal No. 4. You must of course realize that you are acting for the Government of Canada and not for any other government, delegation or committee. When you desire instructions on any proposal you should communicate sufficiently in advance to give time for consideration here. Every effort will be made to give prompt instructions but in any case you should not take action on any question of importance such as those recently considered without definite and positive instructions."

The following day, Riddell offered this explanation:

"As I had then no instructions regarding attitude of Government and desired to forestall extension of list to include products of special importance to Canada, I proposed that the products mentioned in my telegram . . . be added to list in principle, their embargo to come into force only when it could be made effective." He went on :

"Since resumption of discussion on October 31st, my only guide to attitude and policy of the Government has been the statement given to the press and summarized in your unnumbered telegram of October 29th."

His explanation was rejected in a further telegram from the Secretary of State for External Affairs ⁽²⁾ dated November 7 :

"I have noted your explanation but must insist that position which you took was not in my judgement in conformity with important factors in Canadian

* The author, John A. Munro, is a Resident Historian with the Department of External Affairs for the academic year 1969-70. He is an editor of the Department's *Documents on Canadian External Relations* series.

(1) Unless otherwise identified all quotations and direct references are from the files of the Department of External Affairs Nos: 927-34 (nine par.s), 927-A-24, 927-B-34 and 65-D-1-35.

(2) Prime Minister W. L. Mackenzie King held the External Affairs portfolio, as did Prime Minister R. B. Bennett before him.

situation and not within the scope of your authority. As I have already indicated no position on any question of importance should be taken without positive and definite instructions."

The first question that warrants further consideration in this unhappy affair is whether Riddell's explanation provides an adequate understanding of the case.⁽³⁾ An examination of the files of the Department of External Affairs suggests that, while Riddell was left, as he suggested, without thorough instructions, he was, at the same time, not authorized to act independently.

In some ways, there was even a reasonable consistency in the official Canadian position in those last four months of 1935. The posture of the Canadian Government during the Italo-Ethiopian War did not vary in substance from that set out by Prime Minister R. B. Bennett to Riddell on September 5 :

"The Government of Canada are prepared to co-operate in every helpful way in securing a peaceful settlement of the dispute, in accordance with the provisions of the Covenant of the League, *but are not aware of any distinctive or individual contribution that they could make to such a settlement.*"⁽⁴⁾

Further, it would appear that Riddell should have understood from subsequent instructions that there were to be no Canadian initiatives and that no position was to be taken without definite and specific instructions.

However, he saw himself left in limbo and in such a context it was perhaps natural that he should opt for action. Riddell was not lacking in experience, nor was he encumbered by his anomalous title "Canadian Advisory Officer" — there is no indication that it was viewed as anything other than a Canadian idiosyncrasy at Geneva. He was the dean of the diplomatic corps. He was accustomed to *tête-à-têtes* with the Sir John Simons, Anthony Edens and Lord Cecil. He was a senior officer in Canada's Department of External Affairs. Most important, he was personally committed to the conception of economic sanctions as a potentially effective deterrent to aggression.

In this latter connection, he wrote to Dr. O. D. Skelton, the Department's Under-Secretary, on December 7 :

"... it was my conviction that once the States Members had declared Italy the aggressor and admitted that Article XVI was applicable, the only way to prevent the transition from economic to military sanctions was to render economic sanctions effective. This was, and still is, my conviction. To make the economic sanctions effective, within a reasonable time, I was convinced that the list I submitted was a necessity. Subsequent events have served only to strengthen these convictions."

In addition, if Riddell is to be taken at his word, he seems to have been convinced that the basic tenets of Canadian policy on economic sanctions had been laid down that July during the meetings of the Committee of Thirteen (the League Committee on Sanctions). The purpose of the Committee was to consider

(3) The explanation offered in the above document does not differ in substance from that provided by Riddell 22 years later in his book *World Security by Conference*, Toronto, 1947.

(4) Italics by the writer.

the extension of sanctions as a form of pressure against countries that without resort to war repudiated treaties (Germany's repudiation of the disarmament clause of the Treaty of Versailles was the example in mind at the time).

On July 8, Riddell was instructed as follows:

"In sub-committee you should state, therefore, that in any contingency where it is agreed that economic sanctions should be applied withholding key products and raw materials is one important method of applying them. List of such key products and raw materials to be effective should be comprehensive . . . it would be desirable that any recommendation for withholding key products and raw materials be balanced by equally strong recommendations respecting embargos on exports from and credits facilities to repudiating country . . ."

On July 23, it was suggested that Riddell re-emphasize the above points and, further, he was given some latitude :

"If you think it desirable you may support views of Spanish and Chilian representatives respecting desirability of proposed Protocol between European states containing provision for mutual assistance."

In many ways Riddell's work on the Committee of Thirteen was to prove a dress rehearsal for his subsequent role. On July 19, he wrote to Skelton :

"You will observe that I was able to have incorporated in the report most of the main points in my instructions. I met with great opposition from the Italian representative in proposing that the report should recommend that any recommendations of the Council that key products and raw materials be withheld in the circumstances envisaged should also include recommendations for embargos on exports from and credit facilities for repudiating countries

"Our emphasis that lists of key products and raw materials to be effective should be comprehensive at first met with some objection, but finally gained support from all except the Italian and United Kingdom representatives. Mr. Hawtrey, the United Kingdom representative, favoured a very limited list and, while in the end, he did not maintain his objections, I gathered he accepted our proposals with some reluctance."

As the Italo-Ethiopian crisis grew in importance, the Committee was temporarily shelved. Certainly the considerations of the Sanctions Committee were equally applicable when a member state resorted to war and Article XVI of the Covenant came into effect. The fact is, however, that the Committee's considerations were for the most part an exercise in theory and neither the Department of External Affairs nor the Bennett and King Governments were to feel any commitment to be consistent with the position taken that July when the reality of war presented itself.

On October 9, Canada voted with the overwhelming majority of League members in confirming the decision of the League Council that Italy was guilty of aggression against Ethiopia. In conformity with instructions from Ottawa, the Canadian delegation accepted membership on the 52-member Co-ordination Committee and, without instruction, on the working committee on sanctions

(the Committee of Eighteen) and the Economic Sub-Committee. ⁽⁵⁾

On October 14, the Government of R. B. Bennett was defeated in the Canadian general election. On October 15, Bennett instructed Riddell, in response to his request for "full instructions on economic sanctions" :

"In view of results of general election of yesterday and of fact that new Government cannot take over for some days, it will not be possible for you to take position on any further proposals in the meantime."

It was at this point that Riddell informed Skelton that, as far as he was concerned, Canadian policy had long since been established. He cabled :

"Unless advised to the contrary, I shall continue to express in Co-ordinating Committee and Sub-Committees Canadian policy regarding sanctions as defined in your communication concerning Committee of Thirteen."

Skelton replied :

"Your personal telegram 15th October. See Prime Minister's telegram of this date. I do not understand your references to our policy regarding sanctions defined in our communication concerning Committee of Thirteen. Only instructions regarding sanctions were those contained in our telegram of 10th October stating that no definite attitude should be taken until further communication was sent."

Riddell countered on October 17 :

"My reference was to Sanctions Committee of Thirteen set up April 17th in particular to your telegrams No. 32 and No. 34, July 8th and July 23rd." It was here that the communication between Ottawa and its man at Geneva really broke down. The failure of Ottawa to correct Riddell's misconception of Canadian policy is clear. No definite instructions were to be forthcoming before November 2. There was, of course, the summary of King's press release on October 29. The telegram containing this was marked "Immediate" and Riddell accepted it as a general directive. It read :

"Government gave to press here tonight copy of replies on proposals one to four, and also statement, which after (1) summarizing proposals of Co-ordinating Committee (2) affirming continued adherence to League aims and ideals (3) reviewing Canadian opposition throughout to commitments in advance to apply sanctions, continued as follows, Begins :

'In the present instance, when an earnest effort is being made with wide support to test the feasibility of preventing or at least terminating war by the use of economic sanctions, and when there is no room for doubt as to where the responsibility rests for the outbreak of war, and having regard also to the position taken by Canada at the recent Assembly, the Canadian Government is prepared to co-operate fully in the endeavour. The League authorities are being informed that the Canadian Government will take the necessary steps to secure the effective application of the economic sanctions against Italy proposed by

(5) The responsibility here lay primarily with G. Howard Ferguson, who "provisionally" accepted membership for Canada without instruction. Ferguson, Canadian High Commissioner in London, headed the Canadian delegation until the defeat of the Bennett Government.

the Co-ordination Committee. The Canadian Government at the same time desires to make it clear that it does not recognize any commitment binding Canada to adopt military sanctions, and that no such commitment could be made without the prior approval of the Canadian Parliament. It is also to be understood that the Government's course in approving economic sanctions in this instance is not to be regarded as necessarily establishing a precedent for future action.⁶

"Copy of full statement being mailed."

The above statement was ambiguous and to King's critics it appeared to be little more than a further instalment of a continuing exercise in ambiguity on the part of the Prime Minister. However, Riddell chose to interpret it and the King Government's implementation of the sanction proposals to fit his own preconception of policy.

Indeed, it might be suggested that, consciously or unconsciously, Riddell was attempting to shape Canadian policy from Geneva or, perhaps, that he was attempting to balance an anti-League influence within the Department. Perhaps he saw himself pitted against the influence of Loring Christie⁽⁶⁾, whom he believed, quite rightly, to be opposed to sanctions "on principle".⁽⁷⁾ If so, then he failed to appreciate the extent to which the Department viewed the League with doubt prior to Christie's return on September 1, 1935.

On August 26, Skelton presented Prime Minister Bennett with a memorandum entitled "Application of Sanctions in Italo-Ethiopian Dispute". In it, the "Contra Participation" side of the argument was by far the more impressive. Sanctions were not only contrary to established Canadian policy, they were obsolete and, in the present crisis, useless as a threat. Economic sanctions were but a preliminary to military sanctions. If they failed, the League would have been needlessly discredited; if they succeeded, the European balance of power might be altered for the worse. At any rate, the British position was less than clear and United States neutrality made any such scheme disproportionately difficult for Canada. Further, Parliamentary action would be required for something that the electorate cared nothing about; the memorandum noted :

"Canadians are not expecting or demanding intervention. The public have been mildly interested in the dispute — from the sidelines. Newspaper comment throughout Canada shows frequent condemnation of Italian aggression, little knowledge of the details of the issue or of the Covenant provisions, and still less of support for active participation by Canada. People are immensely more interested in Alberta than in Abyssinia. The League of Nations Society contains many fine members, but the attitude of a few of its leaders or officers does not reflect any widespread and informed public opinion. The situation in this respect is entirely different from that in Great Britain."

It is significant that these same arguments were presented to Prime Minister King on October 24, the day after he came into office.

(6) Christie had been Legal Adviser to the Department when he resigned in 1923. His official title in 1935 was Counsellor.

(7) See reference, Page 11.

Christie was to add his formidable intellectual prowess to supporting those doubts about the League. His influence with his departmental colleagues was considerable, and this was particularly so in his relation with Skelton. A fully-articulated presentation of his world view does not appear until a memorandum prepared for Skelton in June 1936. In it he wrote:

"Unless a European regime is settled by collaboration of all their Great Powers — Great Britain, France, Germany, Russia, Italy — it will be precarious and temporary. If it is so settled, there is no place for Canada in it (i.e., politically)."

He went on:

"It is a little late in the day to expect salvation to come out of contracts made by a few men in a hurry, whether they are called treaties or covenants The centre of the stage is held today not by contracts but by armaments . . . a statesman becomes a different creature with every additional army corps, naval or air squadron that is put behind him."

As Christie saw it, war was "likely within a few years". There was not even a hint of idealism to colour his analysis of the acceptability of war as an instrument of national policy among the European nations and Japan. For example, he saw a large school in Britain and France :

"... which seems ready for war under the special interpretation of national interest and prestige involved in the 'collective security' conception. They do not call it 'war' and possibly do not think of it as war. In their minds the operation would have another intention : they would regard themselves as policemen and would call it 'military sanctions'. But this is subjective. What is in their minds cannot alter the nature of the objective thing — the physical operation — the consequences that experience shows to flow from this kind of operation — the destructive physical consequences and, worse, the consequences in the minds and emotions both of their own peoples and of other peoples against whom the operation is directed or can be conceived as directed. They would employ exactly the same weapons and techniques in 'military sanctions' as in 'war' The sanctioneers have never been able to show how their alledged state of mind can alter the practical consequences in the slightest. So that you have to put them down as a large section ready for war."

The international situation was such "that at any moment a knave, a fool or an accident may start the thing beyond control".

The task for Canadian diplomacy was "not to select among doctrines, but to try to read the march of the doctrines and events and plot their projection; then to conceive what posture we can take". "Prudent planning," he suggested, "takes account of the worst possibility as well as the most favourable. For Canada, No Commitments is the only answer to that."

This was the sort of thinking that lay behind a 32-page Christie memorandum on the "European Crisis" dated October 5, 1935, the draft copy of

which was initialed by both Skelton and J. Scott Macdonald. ⁽⁸⁾ In viewing the proposed League action against Italy, he asked :

"If Canada is to intervene at all, could she be justified in contemplating any step at all before all Europeans have not merely disclosed their hand in words but have actually commenced their action, seriously and effectively? Shall we repeat in principle, even if not in extent, the experience of 1914-18 when 50,000,000 Europeans — 6 western states — remained aloof while Canada exhausted herself?"

The question was rhetorical :

"Put in broad terms, it is submitted that in the existing League Canada's true role would be that of a non-European observer so far as the League's European political activities are concerned, though a particular in the social and economic activities that do not compromise this political position."

This was the most Canada could offer a less-than-universal League of Nations, for, as Christie noted, it could neither successfully nor usefully be integrated into a European League.

Certainly, Canadian external policy never assumed the stark reality advocated by Christie. Yet it was not out of sympathy with his views. The "odd man out" in the Ethiopian business proved to be Dr. W. A. Riddell, Canadian Advisory Officer at the League.

This is not to suggest that Riddell was wrong in any sense other than that he failed to judge correctly the attitude of the King Government. His isolation was almost absolute — his formal instructions were entirely inadequate and, further, Skelton was entirely remiss in not making him aware of the considerations affecting the evolution of new policy positions. Had the Canadian representative at Geneva not been in effect abandoned during the policy gestation period of the new King Government, no question would have arisen.

The outcome was that the Canadian Government had assumed a posture to which it was completely opposed. The embarrassment of the King Government was acute as Riddell's proposal became a topic of international discussion. The immediate policy of the Government was to avoid all public reference to Riddell's action in the hope that it would die a quick and natural death. Mackenzie King, accompanied by Skelton, went on holiday to Sea Island, Georgia, but the Riddell proposal followed them even there. A letter, dated November 26, from Skelton to the Acting Under-Secretary in Ottawa, Laurent Beaudry, describes the situation :

"In view of Associated Press reports forecasting a meeting of the League Sanctions Committee of Eighteen, this week, to discuss the '*Canadian*' proposal of an extension of the embargo on exports to include oil, coal, iron and steel, I sent you, under instructions from the Prime Minister, the following telegram, in code, on November 23 :

'Press reports indicate meeting League Sanctions Committee Monday or Wednes-

(8) A senior officer in the Department.

day to discuss Canadian proposal to extend embargo on exports. Please instruct Riddell not to take any initiative in making or advocating proposal though he may vote for proposal if it meets with approval other members generally.'

"Mr. King considered omitting the last clause — 'though he may vote for proposal if it meets with approval other members generally', but left it in because of reported imminence of the discussion at Geneva. Now that press reports indicate a postponement of the discussion, it would be well to modify any instructions you have sent, so as to make it clear to Riddell that he is not to vote or take any position on the question before reporting precisely what the proposal is and receiving definite instructions thereon. It is evident the question is going to be full of dynamite, and in view of Riddell's previous unfortunate action, he must not be allowed to act at his own discretion, or pull any more of Mr. Anthony Eden's chestnuts out of the fire."

On November 28, Beaudry added in a telegram to Dr. Skelton :

"... Mr. Lapointe ⁽⁹⁾ is disturbed by headlines in the press emphasizing the initiative taken by Canadians and is wondering whether some course of action could be adopted to counteract this effect."

Writing in 1947, Riddell charged :

"As to whether Rome was responsible for suggesting that the Government of Canada disavow my proposal may never be known. The suggestion, I believe, did not originate either with the Prime Minister or with Dr. Skelton. It is true that Mr. King is on record as saying he was consulted and took full responsibility for it, but that is far different from being its author. Mr. Lapointe probably was immediately responsible. Mr. Loring Christie, who had returned to the Department under the Bennett Government, could have been counted upon to oppose sanctions on principle. I should be more inclined to believe that the Italian Foreign Office learned ... that I had made the proposal solely as a member of the Committee of Eighteen, and ... approached the Canadian Government, through its Consul-General, asking that this be made clear to the general public." ⁽¹⁰⁾

The question is, of course, how accurate was he? Skelton's reply to Beaudry on November 29 indicates that the decision belonged to the Prime Minister :

"... Prime Minister agrees with Mr. Lapointe as to serious effect of press emphasis on alleged Canadian initiative, although any counter action at this time also involves difficulties. He thinks, first, Massey should be instructed to convey above information [Riddell initiative taken without knowledge or authorization of Canadian Government] to the British Government ... and, second, Mr. Lapointe should arrange to be interviewed,

(a) Stating that Canadian Government position regarding sanctions as set out in press statement of October 29th (?) has not been changed;

(b) In response to further enquiries as to reported Canadian initiative in embargo extension, he should state that ... Government has taken no initiative

(9) Acting Secretary of State for External Affairs.

(10) Riddell, W. A., *World Security By Conference*, Toronto, 1947, Pp. 129-130.

in subject and that opinion expressed by Canadian member of Committee of Eighteen represented only his opinion as member of Committee;

(c) Canada would continue with other members of the League of Nations to consider changes in situation as they arose."

King was obviously affected in the timing of his decision by Lapointe's concern. There is no way of knowing if he would have acted without Lapointe's urging. He was noted for his procrastination. Indeed, had he avoided decision for another 11 days, none would have been necessary — Hoare and Laval would have seen to that.

This nevertheless leaves us with Riddell's speculations as to the roles of the "two French Canadians".⁽¹¹⁾ It is of interest to observe the apparent source of his impressions. Beaudry cabled him on December 1 :

"Decision to make public statement was taken reluctantly and after consultation with the Prime Minister, under pressure of incessant press comment on danger of war attributed to 'Canadian proposal' for extension of economic sanctions. In view of Government's insistence on sharp distinction to be drawn between Canadian attitude toward economic and toward military sanctions, it was not possible at present grave situation to accept responsibility for initiating a policy whose outcome was regarded with anxiety in many quarters in Canada — but which is nevertheless being considered most carefully by the Government as a member of the League. In circumstances issue of explanatory statement distinguishing between your views as a member of Co-ordinating Committee and position of Government was thought to be necessary and its prompt release desirable. We had most earnestly hoped on personal grounds that this course could have been avoided and we know you will realize that publication of this statement under the circumstances had become necessary."

Riddell may or may not have been aware of the substance of Beaudry's advice to Lapointe two days earlier in which he expanded on his "danger of war" theory. That memorandum read:

"Unless I am greatly mistaken, the newspaper reports on the attitude of Italy towards the oil embargo reveal the present situation to be very grave. It would appear that war between Italy and Great Britain may be imminent if the oil embargo is to be applied. It would appear at the same time that the attitude of Great Britain towards the application of the embargo remains firm.

"In view of the fact that Canada through the unauthorized action of Dr. Riddell, has initiated the proposal for the oil embargo, the responsibility thus assumed by Canada is very great, *and the consequences for Canada herself may be still greater under the circumstances.*

"It seems that the most careful consideration should at once be given to the position officially taken by our representative, since if that position is maintained at the next meeting of the League Committee in a few days and war

(11) Riddell suggested that "the Italian Consul-General and his Quebec friends must have thought that Providence has smiled upon them" when the Department was left in the hands of "two French Canadians" — Lapointe and Beaudry. *Ibid.*, P. 129.

were declared, Canada might become directly involved in the armed conflict in spite of our previous reservation on the question of military sanctions. Canada having initiated the proposal and being supported by Great Britain, would probably become directly entangled in the conflict."

The hysteria evident in Beaudry's memorandum does not seem to have reached the holidayers at Sea Island, although King and Dr. Skelton were also influenced by the press. Neither is there any indication that it affected Acting Prime Minister Lapointe. Nowhere is the role of the Italian Consul General apparent. The press is the one common factor evident in the decisions of King, Lapointe and their advisers that action was necessary. Riddell's charges ring somewhat hollow and, at best, a case can be made for the indirect influence of Italian consular officials on Quebec political leaders so far as Italian propaganda found a ready market in Canada's French-speaking areas. Riddell may simply have believed the comments emanating from Italian and other sources ⁽¹²⁾ such as that of the Italian Vice-Consul in Toronto, who commented that he had "known for some time that Dr. Riddell acted on his own initiative in proposing an oil embargo".

It is too easy to criticize Prime Minister King for his repudiation of Riddell's initiative. Certainly, King did not reject the League ideals of peace and co-operation. It may be that he simply moved the Canadian position on the means of their achievement back into a convenient obscurity. ⁽¹³⁾ However, it may be that events simply obscured the meaning of his more important action. It is often forgotten that, in a mere six days after assuming office, his Government accepted the responsibility of implementing the four sanctions proposals adopted by the League. It is further forgotten that, in doing so without first summoning Parliament, the Government had to overcome the opposition of their departmental policy advisers ⁽¹⁴⁾ and to devise means of plementation. Most important, King had to decide to ignore past pledges as to the necessity of Parliamentary control of external policy and commitments and, in particular, the special resolution of the House of Commons of June 21, 1926, that:

"This House . . . considers further that before His Majesty's Canadian ministers . . . signify acceptance of any . . . agreement involving military or economic sanctions, the approval of the Parliament of Canada should be secured." The Riddell fiasco has robbed King of the credit due him. Riddell, for his part, was to achieve, in some quarters at least, a sort of martyrdom, his place in history assured. Had it not been for the influence of Skelton, Prime Minister King would have fashioned a cross more fitting to the occasion. However, it has been suggested that Canada's diplomatic service has paid in successive generations for his "sins" in the form of control from Ottawa. ⁽¹⁵⁾

(12) Such as N. W. Rowell, Sir Robert Falconer, the *Winnipeg Free Press*, the *Toronto Globe*, the *Toronto Mail and Empire*, and many more.

(13) Soward, F. H., *et al.*, *Canada in World Affairs, Pre-War Years*. Toronto, 1941. P. 163.

(14) Albeit Department memoranda were much stronger on the side of Parliamentary approval during the Bennett period of the crisis, though perhaps for good reason, given the election results.

(15) Eayrs, J., *The Art of the Possible*, Toronto, 1961, P. 173.

* Those interested in the full detail of the "Riddell Incident" should see Soward, F. H., *et al.*, *Canada in World Affairs, Pre-War Years*. Toronto, 1941; Carter, G.M., "Canada and Sanctions in the Italo-Ethiopian Conflict," *C.H.A.R.*, 1940; Eayrs, J., *In Defence of Canada*, Vol. II. Toronto, 1965; and Riddell's own account [*World Security by Conference*].

Canadian Cultural Events in Italy

THE year 1969 marks a step forward in Canada's cultural relations with Italy. Judging by the number of Canadian cultural events that have taken place in Italy this year, the cultural exchange program with that country is developing rapidly.

Last May, the Théâtre du Rideau Vert of Montreal was invited to participate in the Rome Festival. A grant from the Department of External Affairs and the co-operation of the Quebec Department of Cultural Affairs enabled this excellent theatrical company to go to Rome, where it performed one of its triumphs, Ibsen's *Hedda Gabler*. The Canadian company, with Yvette Brind'Amour in the leading role, created an excellent impression on cultural circles in Rome. They gave two performances before huge audiences that showed both their interest and appreciation.

After the last performance, the company received the Prix de Rome, which was presented by Miss Pirandello, daughter of the great Italian playwright who is so dear to the hearts of the Rideau Vert actors.

A few months later, in July, Les Grands Ballets Canadiens, a Montreal company, represented Canada at the Tenth International Ballet Festival of Nervi, dancing before audiences of more than 2,000. The company made three appearances, presenting *Carmina Burana*, from the Karl Orff trilogy, *Divertissements* by Glazounov, and *Pas Rompu*. On the whole, the young company received very good reviews.

Les Grands Ballets performed in Italy as part of a six-country European tour organized under the auspices of the Canadian Government.

In September, the Toronto Workshop Productions represented Canada at the Venice Festival. Here again, the Department of External Affairs gave its support to the troupe, which had also received financial assistance from the Ontario Government and from private enterprise. The company was very well received both by the Festival authorities and by the huge cosmopolitan audiences that attended its performances.

Also in September, Florence welcomed a large exhibition of European drawings from the Print Study Room of the National Gallery of Canada, which was responsible for organizing the display as part of the cultural exchange program between the two countries. The Secretary of State for Canada, the Honorable Gérard Pelletier, was present at the opening of this exhibition, which is under the auspices of the Department of External Affairs and will continue until November 10.

The International Labor Organization

HUMAN RESOURCES DEVELOPMENT

A RECENT radio serial carried by the Uganda national service, which was followed enthusiastically by thousands of listeners, told how Mukasa, a village storeowner, and Maliko, the proprietor of a carpentry shop, straightened out their serious business difficulties by following the advice of a business clinic. There was this widespread interest in the affairs of the two fictional small businessmen because Mukasa and Maliko have thousands of real-life counterparts who play an important part in the economic life of many African countries. The "business clinic" actually represents a government agency, the Management Training and Advisory Center, whose main task it is to foster the growth and development of these owner-managers by training them in modern managerial skills.

Among the many African "entrepreneurs" who are taking advantage of this kind of training there is probably little awareness that establishment of the Center owes much to the assistance given to the Government by experts of the International Labor Organization. However, it is typical of the work being carried out in the developing countries of Africa, Asia, Latin America and the Middle East by this unique association of government, employer and worker representatives from 118 countries.

Founded at the 1919 Paris Peace Conference as an autonomous body within the framework of the League of Nations, the ILO was, during the first three decades of its existence, primarily concerned with the adoption and administration of international standards to improve working and social conditions for people everywhere. However, during the past 20 years, its scope of activity has gone well beyond that of a standard-setting body. It has, in fact, become "operational" and stands ready to take a direct hand in helping to solve the great social and economic problems faced by many countries. One of the principal ways it does this is by co-operating in the technical assistance programs of the United Nations under which it now operates as a Specialized Agency.

Management Training

The ILO has long recognized that the raising of industrial productivity in developing regions is closely related to the development of managerial skill among natives of the countries concerned. For this reason, the Organization's main contribution to technical assistance schemes has centered on sending experts to help individual governments develop a competent body of managers able to carry on and expand industrial and commercial operations. ILO activities range from providing assistance for a one-man business, as noted earlier, to the training of senior executives for medium-size and large-size enterprises.

The early ILO programs of management development consisted mainly of co-operation in small-scale projects involving small numbers of experts for short periods. However, it soon became apparent that operations of this kind had little effect on the level of skills generally in the management sector. This led to participation in much larger projects, to the point where today programs are organized on a national level.

A good example of the scope of these national undertakings was a five-year project in Thailand, completed in 1967, which established a Management Development and Productivity Center. The Center attracted more than 5,000 trainees, who took 360 courses in a wide variety of subjects ranging from production planning and control and marketing research to cost accounting, budgeting and financial analysis. About half of those attending were middle-level executives, and the balance was made up of senior management officials and supervisory personnel. They represented some 400 different types of enterprise that included manufacturing, transportation, utilities, banking and insurance.

Further examples of projects involving ILO personnel are now under way in Algeria, Chile, Ethiopia and Romania and are scheduled for completion in 1972. In Algeria, experts will assist the Government in setting up a National Institute of Productivity and Industrial Development, while the expansion of facilities for training personnel in small and medium industry is the main feature of the Chile project. In Ethiopia, particular emphasis is being placed on practical management training for owner-managers of small businesses and the Romanian project provides advanced training for management consultants and instructors working in institutes throughout the country.

Worker Education

The efforts of the ILO, however, are not confined to the development of managers for industrial and commercial operations. It recognizes the need for informed and well-trained union leaders, and to this end it launched a worker education program in the mid-1950s.

As a general approach, the International Labor Office turns out a broad range of educational material and makes it available to union federations and other worker associations through the network of ILO offices throughout the world. This material includes manuals on subjects within the ILO sphere of operations, lecture information, films and film strips and other audio-visual aids.

Also, ILO experts are at work in many countries organizing programs in such specialized areas as training union leaders for participation in the planning and implementation of development policies, the operation of co-operatives, the setting-up of research and documentation services, and the use of radio and television to assist in the education of rural and illiterate workers.

The ILO also contributes to worker education by providing travel grants that enable union members to attend study programs and courses at workers' institutes. In addition, many ILO projects are concerned with educational

activities that are carried out annually in many parts of the world. These include courses given by the Inter-American Labor College at Cuernavaca, Mexico, and the International Federation of Christian Trade Unions at Oxford, England. In addition to making a contribution to union training, participation in programs such as these helps ILO personnel to keep abreast of union developments and growing educational requirements.

CONFERENCES

- Universal Postal Union, sixteenth congress : Tokyo, October 1 - November 14
- Commonwealth Parliamentary Association, general conference : Port-of-Spain, October 4-19
- Colombo Plan Consultative Committee : Victoria, B.C., October 14-31
- North Atlantic Assembly, fifteenth annual conference : Brussels, October 27-31
- Interparliamentary Union, fifty-seventh interparliamentary conference: New Delhi, October 30 - November 7
- Food and Agriculture Organization, fifteenth session : Rome, November 8-27
- International Union for Conservation of Nature and Natural Resources, eleventh Technical Meeting : New Delhi, November 24 - December 1
- NATO ministerial meeting: Brussels, December 3-5
- Association internationale des Parlementaires de Langue française, second annual conference: Tunisia, January 1970
- Sixth International Mining Congress : Madrid, June 1-6, 1970

APPOINTMENTS, TRANSFERS AND RESIGNATIONS IN THE DEPARTMENT OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS

- Miss M. Dumoulin posted from the Canadian Embassy, Brussels, to Ottawa, effective June 23, 1969.
- Mr. R. H. Matthews appointed to the Department of External Affairs as Administrative Services Officer 8, effective July 1, 1969.
- Mr. A. D. Rowe posted from the Canadian Embassy, Havana, to Ottawa, effective July 3, 1969.
- Mr. G. C. Langille posted from the Canadian Embassy, Montevideo, to Ottawa, effective July 5, 1969.
- Mr. F. Clarke posted from the Canadian Consulate General, Hamburg, to the Canadian Embassy, Ankara, effective July 11, 1969.
- Mr. E. G. Lee posted from the Office of the High Commissioner for Canada, London, to Ottawa, effective July 11, 1969.
- Mr. G. Mathieu posted from the Canadian Embassy, Paris, to Ottawa, effective July 11, 1969.
- Mr. J. P. Sigvaldason retired from the Public Service, effective July 12, 1969.
- Mr. E. M. Hepner posted from the Office of the High Commissioner for Canada, Nairobi, to Ottawa, effective July 13, 1969.
- Mr. D. N. Coyle posted from the Canadian Embassy, Addis Ababa, to Ottawa, effective July 13, 1969.
- Mr. T. A. Williams posted from Ottawa to the Canadian Embassy, Mexico, effective July 14, 1969.
- Mr. B. Rogers, Canadian Ambassador to Spain, posted to Ottawa, effective July 22, 1969.
- Mr. K. J. Harley posted from the Office of the High Commissioner for Canada, Nicosia, to the Canadian Embassy, Havana, effective July 24, 1969.
- Mr. S. A. Wade posted from Ottawa to the Canadian Embassy, Dublin, effective July 24, 1969.
- Mr. J. C. Noiseux posted from the Office of the High Commissioner for Canada, London, to the Canadian Embassy, Kinshasa, effective July 26, 1969.
- Miss M. C. P. Kelley posted from the Canadian Embassy, Ankara, to Ottawa, effective July 28, 1969.
- Miss M. A. Cowling posted from Ottawa to the Office of the High Commissioner for Canada, Singapore, effective July 28, 1969.
- Mr. W. J. Bonthron posted from the Canadian Embassy, Kinshasa, to Ottawa, effective July 30, 1969.
- Mr. H. K. Spence posted from Ottawa to the Canadian Consulate, Chicago, effective July 31, 1969.
- Mr. D. W. Fulford posted from the Canadian Embassy, Mexico, to Ottawa, effective August 4, 1969.

- Mr. R. C. O'Hagan posted from Ottawa to the Canadian Embassy, Brussels, effective August 5, 1969.
- Mr. R. J. McKinnon posted from Ottawa to the Canadian Embassy, Paris, effective August 7, 1969.
- Mr. D. S. Wright posted from the Canadian Embassy, Warsaw, to Ottawa, effective August 8, 1969.
- Mr. G. E. Shannon posted from Ottawa to the Canadian Embassy, Belgrade, effective August 10, 1969.
- Mr. F. D. Smith posted from Ottawa to the Office of the High Commissioner for Canada, Accra, effective August 11, 1969.
- Mr. Jean Morin, Canadian Ambassador to Portugal, retired from the Public Service, effective August 12, 1969.
- Mr. J. W. Courchesne posted from the Canadian Embassy, Brussels, to Ottawa, effective August 12, 1969.
- Mr. C. D. Fogerty posted from Ottawa to the Office of the High Commissioner for Canada, Port-of-Spain, effective August 15, 1969.
- Mr. W. F. Hoogendyke posted from the Canadian Embassy, Bonn, to the Office of the High Commissioner for Canada, New Delhi, effective August 16, 1969.
- Mr. R. M. Tait, Canadian Commissioner to the International Commission for Supervision and Control in Vietnam, posted to Ottawa, effective August 17, 1969.
- Mr. G. G. J. D. Buick posted from the Canadian Embassy, Dublin, to the Office of the High Commissioner for Canada, Georgetown, effective August 17, 1969.
- Mr. R. C. Stansfield posted from the Canadian Consulate, Chicago, to Ottawa, effective August 18, 1969.
- Mr. D. K. Doherty posted from the Canadian Embassy, The Hague, to the Office of the High Commissioner for Canada, Accra, effective August 20, 1969.
- Mr. S. A. Freifeld posted from the Permanent Mission of Canada to the United Nations, New York, to the Canadian Embassy, Montevideo, effective August 20, 1969.
- Mr. P. E. J. Charpentier posted from the Permanent Delegation of Canada to the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development, Paris, to Laval University, Quebec City, effective August 21, 1969.
- Mr. G. A. Rau appointed High Commissioner for Canada to Trinidad and Tobago, effective August 2, 1969. Appointed concurrently High Commissioner for Canada to Barbados, effective August 21, 1969.
- Mr. R. C. D. Looye posted from the Canadian Embassy, Oslo, to the Permanent Mission of Canada to the Office of the United Nations at Geneva, effective August 23, 1969.
- Mr. E. C. O. Latour resigned from the Department of External Affairs, effective August 25, 1969.
- Mr. P. E. Laberge posted from Ottawa to the Permanent Delegation to the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development, Paris, effective August 25, 1969.
- Mr. G. L. Haynal appointed to the Department of External Affairs as Foreign Service Officer 1, effective August 25, 1969.

- Mr. P. M. Roberts posted from the Canadian Embassy, Washington, to the Delegation of Canada to the North Atlantic Council, Brussels, effective August 27, 1969.
- Mr. A. F. Haggins posted from the Canadian Consulate General, Boston, to the Office of the High Commissioner for Canada, London, effective August 27, 1969.
- Mr. J. A. Donald retired from the Public Service, effective August 28, 1969.
- Mr. J. C. E. L. Lavigne posted from Ottawa to the Canadian Embassy, Warsaw, effective August 29, 1969.
- Mr. D. G. Bishop resigned from the Department of External Affairs, effective August 29, 1969.
- Mr. D. C. Reece posted from the Office of the High Commissioner for Canada, New Delhi, to the Permanent Mission of Canada to the United Nations, New York, effective August 30, 1969.
- Mr. D. A. B. Molgat posted from the Office of the High Commissioner for Canada, Islamabad, to the Canadian Embassy, Washington, effective September 2, 1969.
- Miss B. E. Armstrong joined the Department of External Affairs as Foreign Service Officer 1, effective September 2, 1969.
- Mr. A. C. H. Smith joined the Department of External Affairs as Foreign Service Officer 1, effective September 2, 1969.
- Mr. P. W. H. Dell joined the Department of External Affairs as Administrative Services Officer 2, effective September 2, 1969.
- Mr. A. N. Robinson appointed to the Department of External Affairs as Foreign Service Officer 1, effective September 2, 1969.
- Mr. J. A. Malone posted from the Office of the High Commissioner for Canada, Accra, to the Canadian Embassy, Washington, effective September 3, 1969.
- Mr. L. P. Tardif posted from Ottawa to the Canadian Embassy, Dakar, effective September 3, 1969.
- Mr. H. P. G. Fraser posted from Ottawa to the Office of the High Commissioner for Canada, New Delhi, effective September 5, 1969.
- Mr. C. T. MacDonald posted from the Canadian Embassy, Washington, to Ottawa, effective September 5, 1969.
- Mr. A. J. Matheson posted from Ottawa to the Permanent Mission of Canada to the United Nations, New York, effective September 7, 1969.
- Mr. R. W. Nadeau posted from the Canadian Delegation to the International Commission for Supervision and Control in Laos to the Canadian Embassy, Addis Ababa, effective September 7, 1969.
- Mr. P. J. Kirkland resigned from the Department of External Affairs, effective September 8, 1969.
- Mr. A. F. Burger appointed to the Department of External Affairs as Foreign Service Officer 1, effective September 8, 1969.
- Mr. G. C. Cook posted from the Canadian Embassy, Quito, to the Directing Staff of the National Defence College, Kingston, effective September 9, 1969.
- Mr. H. H. Carter, Canadian Ambassador to the Republic of South Africa, appointed concurrently High Commissioner to Botswana, effective September 9, 1969.

EXTERNAL AFFAIRS

*External Affairs is issued monthly in English and French by the
Department of External Affairs, Ottawa.*

*It provides reference material on Canada's external relations
and reports the current work and activities of the Department.*

Any material in this publication may be reproduced.

Citation of External Affairs as the source would be appreciated.

*Subscription rates: Canada, the United States and Mexico,
\$2.00 a year; other countries, \$2.50; students in Canada,
the United States and Mexico, \$1.00 a year; in other
countries, \$1.50. Subscriptions are sent post free.*

*Remittances, payable to the Receiver General of Canada,
should be sent to the Queen's Printer, Ottawa, Canada.*

*Authorized as Second Class Mail, Post Office Department,
Ottawa.*

Published by authority of
the Honorable Mitchell Sharp
Secretary of State for External Affairs

Vol. XXI, No. 11

Contents

November 1969

External Affairs in Parliament	384
Foreign Policy and the Provinces	387
Senegal, Canada and "La Francophonie"	395
Canada and Niger Share a Common Culture	399
Visit to Canada of the Soviet Foreign Minister	403
The Ultimate Objects of the United Nations	405
Visit of New Zealand Prime Minister	413
International Conference of the Red Cross	415
Visit of the President of Tanzania	420
The International Labor Organization	422
Conferences	425
Appointments, Transfers and Resignations in the Department of External Affairs	425
Treaty Information	426

External Affairs in Parliament

Speech from the Throne

The following excerpts from the Throne Speech that opened the second session of Canada's Twenty-eighth Parliament on October 23, 1969, deal with international affairs:

Canada is a fortunate country, blessed by nature and spared by war, but we are not immune from the effects of conflicts in other parts of the globe. Our world has become so compact, so interdependent, that all humanity is wounded by an outbreak of violence in any corner of the earth. Whether it be in Vietnam, Nigeria or the Middle East, suffering in any part of the world disturbs the whole international community and affects Canada as a responsible member of that community.

Although we must be aware of the effects of these upheavals on our own country, we are even more concerned about the damage inflicted on the prospects for world peace and the spread of misery and deprivation. The means at our disposal for bringing these conflicts to an end are necessarily limited, but the Government is making full use of its opportunities to help reduce international tension.

We will continue to be an active member of the United Nations. After a quarter of a century of radical changes in its functions and membership, the UN needs to be revitalized and strengthened. Canada is presenting its proposals for reform to the present session of the General Assembly.

As weapons become more destructive and weapons' testing more dangerous, the Government is assigning a higher priority to its efforts in the field of arms control. One barrier to a ban on underground nuclear tests has been the difficulty of verifying that it is being observed. As a practical step towards such a ban, Canada has proposed an international exchange of seismic information.

As long as differences between peoples are permitted to degenerate into hatred and violence, we cannot remain unmoved by appeals for help from the victims of wars. At the International Red Cross Conference last month, the Canadian Government gained acceptance of a principle which it has long supported whereby the Red Cross will be permitted to provide relief during civil wars to civilians on both sides.

In addition to our work in international organizations, we are intensifying our direct contacts with many of the governments and peoples of Latin America, Africa and Asia. At this session you will be asked to consider a bill to create a Canadian International Development Research Center which will bring together Canadian and foreign experts on the problems of developing economies

While the Atlantic and the Pacific retain their traditional importance for Canada, the Arctic Ocean and its coastal regions may soon enter a period of rapid economic development. Much of this development will undoubtedly occur on the islands of the Canadian archipelago, or in the adjoining continental shelf, whose resources, under international law, we have the exclusive right to explore and exploit. With resource development, and the benefits it entails, may come grave danger to the balance of plant and animal life on land and in the sea, which is particularly precarious in the harsh polar regions. While encouraging such development, we must fulfil our responsibility to preserve these areas, as yet undespoiled and essentially in a state of nature. The Government will introduce legislation setting out the measures necessary to prevent pollution in the Arctic seas. It is also considering other methods of protecting Canada's ocean coasts.

Through the United Nations and its agencies, Canada is seeking to establish a system to combat the pollution of international waters which threatens so many forms of life on this planet.

Closing of Missions

The Secretary of State for External Affairs, the Honorable Mitchell Sharp, made the following statement on motions in the House of Commons on November 3 :

... I should like to make a brief announcement concerning forthcoming changes in Canadian representation in certain parts of the world.

In Latin America, we are proposing to close our offices in the Dominican Republic, Ecuador and Uruguay. In each case, our resident mission has been headed by a chargé d'affaires, with the ambassador resident in a neighboring country. The ambassadors concerned will continue to be accredited to these countries and normal diplomatic relations will be maintained. Visits by the ambassador and his staff to countries without resident representation will be frequent and regular to ensure that official business between Canada and the countries affected is carried on and Canadian trade and other interests furthered effectively. The closing of these missions in Latin America does not affect the Government's expressed intention to seek closer ties with that part of the world. We are satisfied that the improvement of communications in the Caribbean and South America will enable us to maintain adequate contact with the countries concerned while permitting redeployment of our resident staff in the interests of greater efficiency.

We propose to close the small office we have maintained in Berlin. Our Ambassador in Bonn, who has been head of that mission, will continue to be accredited in that capacity and will, as in the past, make regular visits to Berlin as evidence of Canada's commitment to the security and welfare of that city.

We propose to close our resident High Commission in Nicosia. Our relations with Cyprus and any diplomatic assistance required by our forces there can be provided for effectively through dual accreditation of the Canadian representatives to a neighboring country. There is no connection between this decision and the question of our continuing participation in the United Nations peacekeeping forces on the island. Canada remains deeply concerned in the search for a solution of the Cyprus dispute and is willing to make whatever contribution it can to the settlement of the problem.

In recent years, the International Control Commissions in Laos and Cambodia have, for a variety of reasons, been unable to perform the functions assigned to them. We have, therefore, decided that little useful purpose would be served by maintaining our present physical presence in Vientiane and Phnom Penh. Canada remains a member of both Commissions and will fulfil its commitments as before. As these commitments are not expected to be onerous, it is intended that the Canadian Commissioner in Vietnam will serve on the other two Commissions. In Laos, arrangements will also be made to maintain local contact with the other members of the Commission. Our modest aid program in Laos and Cambodia will be run from the Canadian delegation in Saigon.

These actions have been taken with the utmost regret and after long and careful study. They are dictated by the need for economy and do not reflect any lessening of Canada's interest in the areas concerned or suggest that our relations with them have diminished in importance. The governments concerned have been notified.

Further economies in the Department of External Affairs will be effected by substantial reductions in resident staff in other posts and missions, by cutting back on planned capital expenditures, by reductions in the cultural, information and military assistance programs and by continuing to scrutinize administrative expenses carefully, reducing them where possible.

Foreign Policy and the Provinces

The following statement was made to the House of Commons on October 30 by Mr. Jean-Pierre Goyer, Parliamentary Assistant to the Secretary of State for External Affairs :

QUESTIONS have been raised in recent years concerning the best way to conduct Canada's external relations, in a country where these relations frequently involve areas which are of interest to the provinces or relate to their fields of internal competence. This situation is not unique. With the evolution of international relations since the end of the war, it is a problem which all federal countries have had to face. In the light of our practical day-to-day experience with external relations, I should like to contribute to the study which must be done in Canada and elsewhere.

There has been a lot of talk about the idea of "external sovereignty" for provinces, corresponding to an extension of their fields of exclusive or shared internal competence. At first blush, this theory can seem attractive. However, it raises important questions: Has this theory a solid legal foundation? Is it based on a sound interpretation of our constitution? Is it acceptable to the international community? Can anyone who looks seriously at the international scene or has any knowledge of the daily conduct of external affairs think that the application of this theory can lead to an effective and coherent policy?

(I) In constitutional and international law, only the Federal Government has competence in the field of foreign affairs.

(a) *Exclusive competence of the Federal Government :* I do not want to bore you with a long description of the constitutional evolution of Canada in the field of foreign affairs. Everyone knows the way Canada obtained independence. Everyone knows that, over 50 years of evolution, the responsibility for Canadian external affairs passed from the British Crown to the Canadian Government. This evolution was confirmed by the Letters Patent of 1947, Letters Patent which form an integral part of our constitution. I should, however, like to take this occasion to focus on certain pseudo-legal arguments which are repeated over and over again but appear to us to be completely unfounded.

(b) *The 1937 Labor Conventions :* It is often claimed that the argument concerning the Letters Patent is nullified by the judgment of the Privy Council in 1937. According to some, the judgment handed down in the 1937 Labor Conventions case has the effect of permitting the provinces to establish direct, separate relations with foreign countries and even to sign international agreements in the fields of their jurisdiction. I seriously question the level of legal knowledge of people who can come to such conclusions. Thirty-two years after

the judgment was handed down, people should really know what it is about. In fact, all the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council said in 1937 is that in matters which, under the BNA Act, are within the exclusive jurisdiction of the provinces, the Federal Parliament cannot take over the right to legislate by claiming that such legislation is necessary to carry out a treaty signed by Canada; on the other hand, the Privy Council did not cast doubt in any way on the exclusive right of the Federal Government to conclude treaties and, as a consequence, to conduct Canada's international relations. I agree that there can be no interference in the international legislative competence of the provinces in Canada, but there can also be no provincial interference in the ultimate competence of the Federal Government abroad.

(c) *The diversity of federal constitutions*: Sometimes it is pointed out that different federal constitutions exist throughout the world, that no two are the same, and that, as a result, Canada can do what it likes with its own. It is conveniently overlooked that, although different on other points, all are virtually alike concerning foreign affairs—the external power always remains in one way or another in the hands of the central authority. It is quite true that there are some federal states, such as Switzerland, the United States, the Federal German Republic and the Soviet Union, where constitutional practice apparently permits member states to conclude certain kinds of agreements with foreign states. Once again, it is ignored that even a superficial examination of these constitutions shows that in each case this power of the member states must be exercised under the federal authority or by means of the federal government. Moreover, any specialist in comparative constitutional law can point out that even the powers of this kind which members of federal states can exercise have been used less and less often over the years.

(d) *Postwar evolution in the field of foreign affairs*: Some claim that international life has changed, and that we must change with it. We are told: "The nature of foreign relations has greatly developed since the war and, as it no longer just involves questions of war and peace or trade but also bears increasingly on questions of culture, technology or education, a new international law has been developing which permits members of federal states to have access to the field of international relations". A splendid theory, which has only one weakness—it has no basis in reality. International exchanges have been increasing, and not just recently; they have been doing so for half a century. But they remain in the hands of sovereign states. And they have been doing so more clearly. You just have to have a grasp of reality and of international law. In treaties, there are progressively fewer "federal" clauses, which allow for the transfer of sharing of sovereignty.

I might just mention the most recent example. Just six months ago, in April, the United Nations Conference on the Law of Treaties at Vienna rejected by an overwhelming majority a proposal which would have appeared to recognize, without being explicit about the conditions, a right on the part of

members of a federal state to conclude treaties. This draft text was an argument used by the government of Quebec in its White Paper as a supposedly irrefutable proof of the tendency towards an international capacity for members of a federation. This draft was clearly rejected simply because it ignored the factors which I have mentioned and did not reaffirm the exclusive right of the federal state to interpret its own constitution to other states. The Conference came to the conclusion that to adopt such an article would be to invite foreign states openly to interpret the constitutions of federal states, which would constitute an intolerable intervention in their internal affairs. The Conference vigorously reaffirmed the principle that in a federal country only the government of that country could interpret its constitution to foreign countries. Whatever anyone may claim, therefore, international law has evolved and continues to evolve in a way which is clearly incompatible with the theory of the external sovereignty of provinces. This is a legal fact which simply reflects the fundamental requirements of any coherent international life. I shall come back to this.

(II) The international community would not accept the theory of a so-called external sovereignty for the provinces.

All these legal points have to be made. They provide a foundation for any discussion. However, I am primarily a practical politician. I should like to examine the theory of the external sovereignty of the provinces in the light of practical, daily experience with external affairs.

Like any other abstract conception, this theory can seem plausible. It has a defect, and a major one — it is completely incompatible with the facts of international life. The international community simply cannot accept this theory from a practical point of view. For those who have an intimate knowledge of international relations, this formula appears dangerous, ineffective, incoherent, chaotic. I shall explain.

The conception of sovereignty has been greatly clarified over the last few years. It is high time for people to realize that, even if certain protectorates and trusteeship territories continue to exist, the notion of bodies with different degrees of international personality has almost disappeared, both in theory and practice. At present there is very little reason to expect that the international community will agree to go back to old conceptions of bodies that are half or partially sovereign, especially if such bodies seek to obtain separate membership in the United Nations or its Agencies.

The United Nations is based on the principle of "one state, one vote", with no distinction between unitary and federal states. Federal states as such have neither more nor less power than unitary states. Can we imagine that Canada could have ten or 11 seats in the Specialized Agencies of the UN while France or Britain would have only one each? Why could India not change its internal constitution in order to have 20, 50 or 100 votes? This would be splendid for federal countries. But do you think the international community would put up with it?

Let us take a specific case, that of UNESCO. If international law or the international community accepted the theory of the extension of internal competence into the international field, UNESCO would be composed of several hundred members overnight. Can anyone seriously claim that it would be able to function that way?

In fact, the international community is simply not ready, for practical reasons, to agree to let itself be fragmented by admitting Canadian provinces to its organizations as sovereign or partially sovereign bodies.

In more general terms, since people are talking about the evolution of international behavior, is there anything more important in our world than dialogue, co-operation and cohesion? We live in a world of minorities. On a global scale, there are no majorities, religious, political or linguistic. Christians, Moslems, Buddhists are all minorities. White, black, yellow — minorities. No ideology dominates an other, no language, no culture. In this fragmented world, we do not need separatists' bombs; we need formulas for understanding, such as federalism, which bring unity out of diversity without crushing it. Federalism represents an agreement between different communities to act together. It is the hope of Europe, which is being constructed; the hope of Africa, which can overcome tribalism; the hope of Asia, where 50 cultures sometimes exist side by side in a single country; the hope of the world. Sometimes we are too modest. Our federal experience and our daring experiment in bilingualism are admired by many and have inspired them. President Senghor recently reminded us of this very eloquently when he said:

More basically, French and English bring us additional resources. This is not to say that we reject Francophonie today. On the contrary, we cling to it and welcome our English-speaking brothers. This is why Canada can, in this area of culture, which is man's own, serve as an example.

Bilingualism and federalism are formulas for the future, which have been given greater life and depth in Canada than anywhere else and which we can continue to develop. This is what the reality of our world requires from us — the improvement of our federalism and not its fracturing into ten different foreign policies.

(III) Sharing of external policy : the results.

Let us see where the logic of those who wish to share external sovereignty between the Federal Government and the ten provincial governments actually leads us. Let us take this working theory to its logical conclusions. It is not enough to draw up constitutional theories in the abstract. We have to see where they lead us.

(a) *Need for a coherent policy:* In practice, different aspects of international life cannot be separated into watertight compartments. They are completely interrelated. As soon as countries deal with one another at the governmental level, it becomes impossible to separate just one aspect, such as education, culture or technical assistance, from all the other aspects of the relations between them. Intellectually, you might draw a distinction between

“traditional foreign policy” and more recent aspects of international relations — technical, cultural or social. In fact, these are all aspects of a single whole. The business of an intergovernmental conference on education may be joined in a hundred ways to other fields, such as co-operation in *la Francophonie* or some other group, international aid policy, bilateral relations with the other countries, economic and commercial problems, international cultural or social co-operation. Political problems are constantly coming up at so-called “technical” conferences. We should not be naive. We just have to look at the policies of the great powers to see the many links between their policies concerning culture, technical exchanges, aid, and social questions and the many other political and economic aspects of international life.

Any foreign policy has to be brought together into a compatible, coherent whole. Foreign policy in a particular field has to take account of a series of Canadian interests and a variety of Canadian internal or external policies which may be affected. We must have a central body which co-ordinates and defines policies before presenting them to the outside world. We cannot have 11.

Someone may say we only need to have two centres, Ottawa and Quebec. Do you think that if the country let one province get away with this all the others would not ask for the same? We have recently seen that even two is impossible. But we would have 10 or 11 — not just two.

(b) *Need for efficiency and strength*: Foreign policy must be clear and effective. It cannot be full of contradictions. If there are 10 or 11 Canadian voices abroad, there will be a variety of Canadian viewpoints and activities that will largely cancel one another out. Our influence in international affairs would be reduced. It would be almost impossible to count on us.

In today's world, it is difficult to carry any weight. Europe is very aware of this problem in its relations with the super-powers, without so far having solved it. For a middle power, it would almost be political suicide to waste its energy in a variety of activities and initiatives in many fields. Ten provinces working abroad separately, even if their activities did not cancel one another out, would not have the same power or influence as a Canada which gathered all of its energy behind a single policy.

(c) *A balkanized policy is a vulnerable policy*: A balkanized policy would be highly vulnerable. Foreign countries would have to show superhuman virtue not to take advantage of the opportunities offered to them in many fields if Canada's presence abroad were fragmented. It would be possible for them to play off provincial interests against one another, to adopt client states, to make use of Canada freely — with a good conscience and with our permission. You just have to remember the recent events that took place in our country to prove this assertion.

(d) *Effects in Canada; Canada's internal life would be threatened*: The most serious aspect of this affair is that the theory of the external sovereignty of the provinces, if it were adopted, would threaten the internal life of Canada.

The sharing of external sovereignty would permit perpetual intervention in the constitutional and internal affairs of Canada. Canada's future would be decided not through rational constitutional debate, shaped by Canadian public opinion in the light of all the problems, but through the changing and divergent interests of the international community. As a result, we should have a constitution which was made abroad. Could Canada survive? It would have an excellent chance of disintegrating, without its voters being consulted.

It is high time for the population of Quebec to realize that, even if it does not want to be separatist, those who hold this theory are pursuing a policy which can be fatal for Canada. Those who aim at this result should admit it; those who are opposed should stand up.

(IV) Formula according to which the provinces can take part in the foreign policy of Canada.

I think it is clear that the Canadian provinces will have enough commonsense to work within the Canadian framework and to avoid policies that threaten to break up Canadian foreign policy and the country itself. Should they, therefore, be resigned to taking no part in our foreign relations and to playing no role on the world scene? Is it Ottawa's policy to keep them out of our foreign relations? Is it necessary to sacrifice the provinces and their interests on the altar of national unity? Not at all.

It seems to me that the provinces want their aspirations and interests to be reflected in the formulation of Canadian foreign policy, to participate when appropriate in presenting and carrying out these policies abroad, to be present at conferences and in international organizations and to have their role and contribution — whether in education, culture or technical and social co-operation — receive adequate recognition as part of a common Canadian effort. To achieve this they do not need to claim a disastrous sharing of external sovereignty.

Canadian federalism offers them all the scope necessary. Within the present constitution, the Federal Government has begun to work out a flexible formula for co-operation with the provinces. It is not a concession which the Federal Government has made out of pure virtue; it is a practical necessity which federalism has imposed upon us. We have already worked out areas of consultation and co-operation. The federal formula has the potential to permit increased provincial participation in the Canadian presence abroad. Rather than waste our energy in sniping at one another abroad, it would be much more profitable for the provinces to work with the Canadian Government to expand and define methods of consultation and co-operation.

Let us speak in more concrete terms. What is this formula?

(a) *Drafting and application of treaties*: For some time, the Federal Government has undertaken to consult the provinces about different aspects of the drafting and application of treaties. This permits the interests of the

federal and provincial governments to be reconciled, and results from the wishes expressed by the provinces concerning treaties where the subject matter relates to their internal legislative competence.

Consultation can take different forms. It implies direct discussion between federal and provincial authorities. This can start before or during the negotiation of a treaty, if its execution requires federal-provincial co-operation.

A variety of measures, such as the "umbrella agreement", have been taken or considered by the Federal Government to validate agreements of interest to the provinces at the international level.

(b) *Participation in international organizations and conferences*: A certain number of international organizations have been created with activities relating to questions which are partly within the internal competence of the provinces, particularly since the end of the war. All these organizations have one object in common — drafting international conventions at general conferences. It is, therefore, important to have close consultation with the provinces to facilitate ratification and implementation of these conventions by Canada. As a result, federal authorities have frequently consulted the provincial authorities in recent years on the content of such conventions and the possibility of carrying them out.

One of the most practical ways of carrying out this policy of co-operation is to strengthen provincial participation in the delegations which Canada sends to international conferences when the activity is of particular interest to the provinces. That is what we have done, for example, in the case of UNESCO, where provincial ministers of education have been invited to participate in general conferences and senior provincial civil servants have been included in Canadian delegations. This system is perfectly adequate for promoting provincial interests, provided, of course, it is used. This presupposes that the provinces will not make a desperate effort to dissociate themselves from the Canadian presence abroad, as if it were dishonorable to be a Canadian or ineffective to put forward the interests of all of us with a single voice.

(c) *Foreign aid*: Foreign aid is an integral part of Canadian foreign policy, and the Federal Government must assume responsibility for co-ordinating it. On the other hand, in view of the fields where Canadian foreign aid is concentrated, it is obvious that the effectiveness of the programs depends in part on the co-operation of the provinces, whether federal or provincial programs are involved.

Thanks to effective consultations between the federal and provincial authorities, the provinces have been able to make a generous contribution to the Canadian aid effort, by recruiting teachers and advisers for service abroad and by offering education and training in Canada.

In addition to taking part in federal programs, some provinces have established their own programs of aid to developing countries. The Federal Government is delighted at this provincial support. The Federal Government's only aim is to ensure that the whole of the Canadian program is maintained

and developed in a coherent manner, without splitting Canadian sovereignty abroad. It is, therefore, necessary to work together so that Canadian assistance forms a program that is co-ordinated by the Canadian Government, in which provincial support receives the credit it deserves.

The merits of this formula and of these methods of consultation are that they are compatible with a viable federalism, ensure an appropriate dialogue in Canada with the provinces in the fields of interest to them so that a Canadian policy can be defined, and open the way to a provincial presence and action abroad within a Canadian presence. That is a positive policy which respects the reality of Canada. It is the Federal Government's policy.

Conclusion

The constitution, and the flexible way in which we are applying it, ensure to the provinces that they can take part in the field of foreign relations, together with the central government. No doubt this system needs to be improved and developed. These improvements must be defined in Canada by Canadians. These questions are too complicated and too important to us to be the subject of a fight abroad.

We are ready to talk with those who have other opinions. We do not doubt their good faith. But this dialogue must take place in Canada, in a reasonable manner, through agreements between governments and through constitutional discussions. We must arrive at solutions which take into account not only the rules of international law and the realities of the modern world but, even more, the principles of an effective, viable federalism. Our success (for we shall succeed) will serve the interests of the provinces, of the central government and of all Canadians. It will offer a fine example to a divided world.

Senegal, Canada and "La Francophonie"

The expanding relations between Senegal and Canada were emphasized in addresses exchanged during the presentation of his credentials on October 2 by Ambassador Gordon Riddell of Canada to President Léopold Senghor of Senegal. Texts of the addresses follow :

Address by President Senghor

Mr. Ambassador, I am glad to receive the letters that accredit you to me in the capacity of Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary for Canada. You know, and you have expressed pertinently, all the historic and cultural bonds that have united Canada and Senegal for some three centuries. These bonds have been strengthened since our national independence was achieved, by personal ties that have been created between Canadian and Senegalese authorities. I personally paid an official visit to Canada and I shall not soon forget the warmth of your welcome. Your Prime Minister, Mr. Trudeau, knows Senegal. Innumerable Senegalese have gone to Canada and innumerable Canadians have come to Senegal. In technical assistance to Senegal, Canada ranks second, after France. Of course, an immense ocean separates us in theory. But in fact this ocean is a link between us. There is an Atlantic world, a democratic world, to which we both belong.

Bonds of History

And there are, above all, the historic bonds that unite us. Indeed, from 1659, the date of the founding of Saint-Louis du Senegal, until 1763, the date of the Treaty of Paris, we belonged to the same French colonization complex. The memory of de Repentigny is still alive in Senegal, and I have heard notable persons mention his name. I had not noted the fact that he was born in Canada. Allow me to remind you, for my part, that the citizens of Saint-Louis have for a long time been called Canadians, to signify that Canada and Senegal felt the French presence at the same time. It is not only the history of French colonization that brings us closer together. Strangely enough, there is also the history of English colonization. The English presence was felt at least twice in our history — on the last occasion during the Napoleonic Wars. The English have left some reminders in Senegal, including some words that have passed into Wolof, words such as "fifteen, copper, pantry" and many others, not to mention family names, Dodds and Armstrong being among the best known. That is why, without mentioning our involvement with English-speaking Gambia, we have made English compulsory in secondary education and in technical instruction. But there are other reasons for our desire to make our administrative staff a kind

of bilingual *élite*. First, there is the fact that Black Africa is bilingual. More basically, French and English bring us additional resources. This is not to say that we reject Francophonie today. On the contrary, we cling to it and welcome our English-speaking brothers. This is why Canada can, in this area of culture, which is man's own, serve as an example. Your Prime Minister and you yourself are living illustrations of this, for you have become bilingual by a natural process.

Various Forms of Aids

I am sure that during your stay in Senegal you will contribute effectively to strengthening co-operation between Senegal and Canada. Not only is your technical assistance more and more important but there is the importance of the concrete development projects along cultural and technical — I would even say technological — lines that you have launched in our country with our participation. We plan, especially, to call more and more extensively upon Canada's co-operation, either within the bilateral framework or in the multilateral framework of the French-Speaking Technical Agency, which, moreover, is directed — and with talent — by a Canadian, Mr. Jean-Marc Léger. I am convinced that, in the field of technological mathematics, and even in the field of classical languages, you can help us effectively.

Mr. Ambassador, I should like to say to you, in conclusion, that, being a member of the great French-speaking family, you will always be received by the members of my Government and by me as a privileged friend.

Reply by Mr. Riddell

Mr. President :

I have the signal honor of presenting to Your Excellency the letters accrediting me to you as Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of Canada.

I am fully aware of my important future responsibility, which will consist of interpreting to you that vast and complex reality which is Canada and of interpreting Senegal to my Government. I already know that the first of my tasks will be greatly facilitated by your personal knowledge of my country and by the friendship that you have always shown for it. As for the second, I wish to assure you that it will be fulfilled by a man who has for a long time known and admired the high ideals and conciliatory spirit which have been the formative principles of your stands on problems with which all nations in general, and Senegal in particular, must cope.

An uninformed observer might be surprised to learn that relations between Canada and Senegal, countries so far apart and so different in many respects, have had such a good start and are today developing at a rapid pace. Separated



Canada's Ambassador to Senegal, Mr. Gordon Riddell, presents his credentials to President Léopold Senghor of Senegal.

by an immense ocean, they belong to different worlds : the American continent and the African continent. Both have fully assumed this continental vocation to which history and geography call them, which forces them to labor under special conditions.

Many Similarities

Back of such facts many similarities can be discovered. Historically, have not Canada and Senegal been the turn-stiles of their respective continents, the points of entry for discovery and achievement of the French presence common to both countries ? Were not both Gorée and Quebec subjects of the negotiations that led to the Treaty of Paris in 1763 ? Was there not once a Governor of Senegal, Gardeur de Repentigny, who was born in Canada and after whom was named a village in Quebec ? For a full century, from 1659 to 1759, Senegal and Canada were part of the same political entity. Like Canada, where the descendants of the French have become firmly established and, with the French culture that they have preserved and developed, today form one of the essential components of the Canadian nation, Senegal has given the French language and culture eloquent and original expression, which you, Mr. President, have so eminently illustrated in your poetic and literary works.

Senegal, the confluence of the great cultural and civilizing currents which have left their mark on Africa, knows in its wisdom how to let them interect in mutual revelation and enrichment. Fully assuming its African role, Senegal is a privileged meeting-place, set in an exceptional climate of understanding and tolerance. You spoke in your works, Mr. President, about *négritude*, that very special and rich state of the African soul and consciousness. After becoming the head of state, you were one of the first to speak of *la Francophonie*. With rare felicity, you evoked the exciting possibilities for exchange which the universal dimension of the French language may facilitate and stimulate among French-speaking people without their renouncing their identity or being diverted from the other commitments for which their special vocation destines them.

This call has been particularly well received in Canada. It is in French-speaking Canada that it has rung most clearly, and that it will mainly be answered. But it was Canada as a whole that understood and accepted it through its Government, convinced that anything that added to the culture affirmation and enrichment of French-Canadians *ipso facto* served the whole of Canada.

French-Language Bonds

Therefore, Mr. President, I believe that one of my main tasks here will be to facilitate exchanges of views between our two governments on the development of the bonds of *la Francophonie*. I hope that I shall be able to discharge my duties by rendering justice to the French language, my second language, which I love and which I have spoken since childhood.

Canada admires the great development work undertaken by Senegal under your direction. The two countries are co-operating in the carrying-out of several major projects which will contribute to the development of the economic and educational infrastructure of the country in accordance with the standards set by the Government of Senegal. Canada is also participating by granting scholarships to Senegalese students who come to Canada to further their training and by sending Canadian teachers and experts to Senegal. It does so not only out of friendship for Senegal but also because it is convinced that such varied contacts between Canadians and Senegalese offer unequalled opportunities for enrichment.

At a time when active technologies, whose effects are still a mystery, hold sway, distances are disappearing, information is becoming instantaneous and immeasurably magnified (what a well-known Canadian, Marshall McLuhan, calls "macroscopic gesticulation") it is more than ever important that people greatly increase the personal exchanges that teach them to know and understand one another better. The Government of Canada is deeply satisfied that many fruitful exchanges have been possible in such a short time between our two countries. Needless to say, Mr. President, I shall devote my efforts here to continuing and developing such exchanges in the same spirit of friendship and mutual respect that has characterized all relations between our two countries.

Canada and Niger Share a Common Culture

A STATEMENT BY PRIME MINISTER PIERRE ELLIOTT TRUDEAU
ON THE OCCASION OF THE SIGNING OF AGREEMENTS WITH THE
PRESIDENT OF NIGER, HIS EXCELLENCY DIORI HAMANI,
ON SEPTEMBER 18, 1969.

IT IS AN honor for me to welcome you to Canada. You are one of the most distinguished of African statesmen. You are a friend of Canada.

Canada is proud of its excellent relations with your country. Niger is the home of an industrious people who have made remarkable progress since the achievement of their independence. Mr. President, you represent among us today that immense and marvellous Africa where, thanks to the dynamic character of your people and the far-reaching influence of your action, Niger has made an enviable place for itself. Thus you have become a solidly-established entity within the Organization for African Unity, the OAU. Eighteen African states have entrusted to you important economic discussions with the Common Market. You are Chairman of the Conseil de l'Entente. Three times, the Organisation commune africaine et malgache (OCAM) has made you its Chairman.

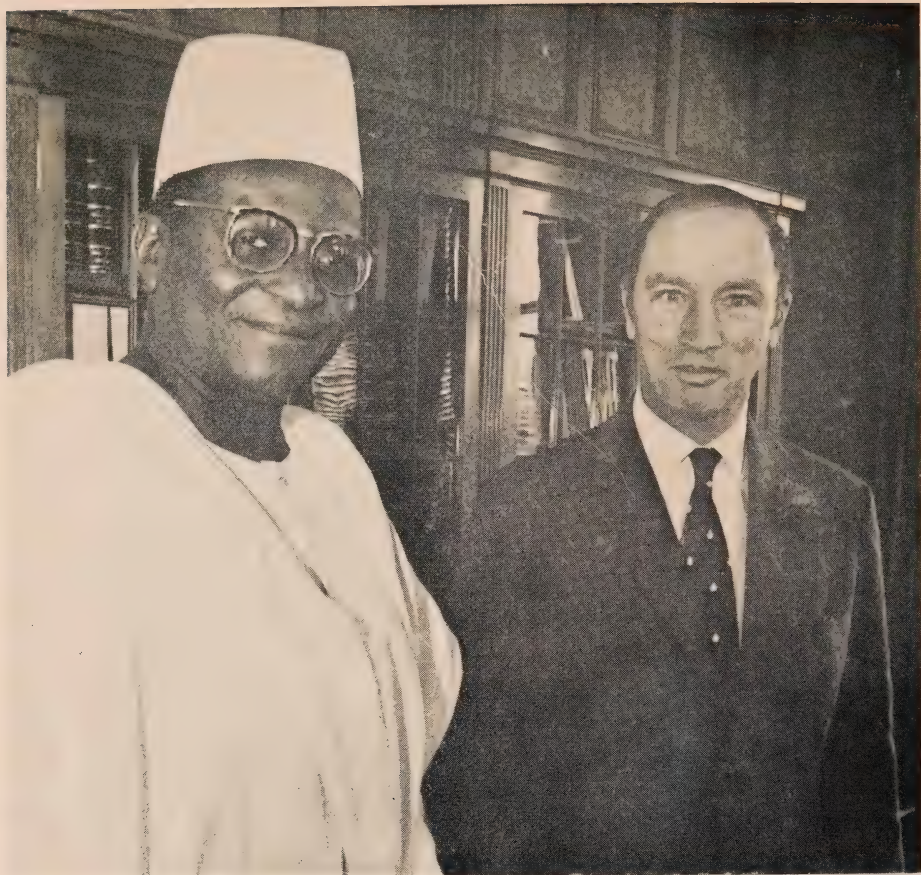
Furthermore, it is as Chairman of OCAM that you brought together last February at Niamey the representatives of a large number of countries that participate to varying degrees in French culture and the French language. Your vision of the future and your acute sense of reality have meant that what was only a vague project has taken form and has materialized; I refer, of course, to the French-speaking world — to *la Francophonie*.

I should like to express, Mr. President, the deep interest that Canada has in *la Francophonie*, in Africa and Niger.

Canada in the French-speaking Family

Canada, with six million French-speaking citizens, is naturally a part of the *francophone* family. For Canada, the active participation in *la Francophonie* that is being organized is a necessity. In the North American setting, our country intends to reinforce its French characteristics and to spread their influence far afield. To that end, Canada must enter into close relations with all the peoples of the world who express themselves and assert themselves in the French language.

This is true for the French-Canadian people in the Province of Quebec, which is the home *par excellence* of French culture in Canada. It is also true for the one million French-Canadians in other Canadian provinces.



President Diori Hamani of Niger with Prime Minister Trudeau during the visit of Mr. Hamani to Ottawa.

You, Mr. President, who will visit them, can familiarize yourself with all regions of our country. Your presence will permit all French-Canadians to feel their solidarity with the world's French-speaking community.

For all Canadians, *la Francophonie* is a reality: it is from 25 to 30 countries — 150 million persons — sharing the same language. And here is, for all of us, a new international dimension that cannot fail to widen our horizons and increase our contribution to the world community. For all Canadians, then *la Francophonie* is participation in a community that extends beyond boundaries, beyond political blocs, beyond continents, races and religions. It is the seat of exchange between civilizations, through the medium of the French language. Canadians cannot fail to benefit from the original contribution of so many peoples, all of whom have made a mark on French civilization through their respective experiences and their own creativity. I should like to believe that

this is also to the advantage of *la Francophonie*, which can benefit from the energies and resources of the whole of Canada.

International Extension of Bilingualism

This participation in *la Francophonie* is, moreover, an extension of Canadian bilingualism on an international scale. It is thus a fundamental element, and a permanent one, in our policy. I say further that our bilingualism should be expressed not only through co-operation among French-speaking people but also in all of our foreign policy, especially within international organizations.

Co-operation with the French-speaking world has existed for some time through a whole network of bilateral relations, first of all in Europe, then in Africa and Asia. We shall continue to further systematically these relations as new prospects for multilateral co-operation open before us.

You are especially known in Canada, Mr. President, as one of the most important builders of *la Francophonie*. You will succeed, I am sure, in providing it with the structures envisaged at the Niamey Conference.

La Francophonie has already asserted itself through government conferences and meetings of various associations. I am thinking, for example, of the Association des Universités partiellement ou entièrement de langue française, the AUPELF, which the Canadian Government has been subsidizing for several years, or the Institut de Droit des pays d'expression française, which held a meeting in Canada last week. Indeed, I had the pleasure of attending one of its meetings in Lomé, in Africa.

Agency for Cultural Co-operation

The Niamey Conference marked a turning-point, because it was decided at the time to study the possibility of establishing an agency for "cultural and technical co-operation". Co-operation among French-speaking nations will thus be placed on an organized basis — multilateral and intergovernmental. Canada has promised its full support in this project; we have already made a financial contribution to the agency's provisional secretariat. We shall maintain our support.

We view this agency not as a political community but as an instrument for multilateral aid in cultural and technical matters between French-speaking countries. We are prepared to recognize it as an agency for co-ordination, promotion and implementation, an agency that will evolve and expand in the light of experience. The agency will have to pioneer in unexplored or neglected areas. In short, Mr. President, we hope that the agency will play a major role in the organization of *la Francophonie*.

Canada is not a stranger to Africa. For a long time now, Canadian missionaries and doctors have established ties with your continent. You yourself are aware of their work in your country.

Canadians have likewise followed with keen interest the political and economic progress Africa has experienced since the end of the war.

Canada has constantly worked in close conjunction with the African countries affiliated to international organizations, especially in the United Nations.

Canada is extremely interested in the aspirations of the New Africa; indeed, its policy is to open up to your continent and take initiatives concerning it. It shares your hopes and disappointments as you tackle the problems which are still outstanding.

The Canadian Government intends to support African efforts towards economic expansion and social development. Considerable sums have been devoted to this end. Since 1960 it has been promoting a program of aid to French-speaking Africa by means of a fund that has almost doubled each year, reaching a total of \$30 million in 1969. And this is only a beginning. Canada wants to see a strong, prosperous Africa, whose peoples are truly forging ahead.

Permanence in Exchange of Ideas

We feel, Sir, that permanence in the exchange of ideas, the dialogue with Niger, is of the utmost importance. I was very happy to have an opportunity of discussing major world problems with you this morning. In particular, your contribution deepened my understanding of African questions, a field in which you play a leading role. This was likewise an opportunity for a closer look at possible means of extending bilateral relations between our two countries.

There are already a certain number of joint programs promoting such relations. For the fifth consecutive year, Canadian teachers will take up duties in Niger at the opening of the school year. For the last seven years, students from Niger have held study scholarships in Canada. As you are aware, there is also a program for providing school supplies and equipment for youth activities and sports. After an exploratory "running-in" period, we are now ready to surge ahead with major projects. A start has been made. We have laid the foundations of a common endeavor and I feel certain, Sir, that together we shall harvest the fruits of our efforts.

It is, therefore, appropriate that we today proceed to the signing of an agreement providing for technical co-operation and three agreements relating to the following projects : (1) the enlargement of the Mariama school in Niamey so that the institution, administered by a Canadian religious community, may offer places to 300 instead of 150 students; (2) an aerial geographic survey of Niger's mining resources; and (3) the establishment of plant-protection centers.

Visit to Canada of the Soviet Foreign Minister

AT THE invitation of the Secretary of State for External Affairs, the Honorable Mitchell Sharp, His Excellency A. A. Gromyko, Foreign Minister of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, paid an official visit to Canada from October 1 to 3. Mr. Gromyko's visit was in return for a visit to the Soviet Union in 1966 by Senator Paul Martin, then Secretary of State for External Affairs. During his stay in Ottawa, Mr. Gromyko called on Prime Minister Trudeau and also had talks with Mr. Sharp and the Honorable Otto Lang,



The Secretary of State for External Affairs, the Honorable Mitchell Sharp, and the Soviet Minister of Foreign Affairs, His Excellency A. A. Gromyko, are seen leaving the Parliament Buildings.

Minister without Portfolio, on a variety of bilateral and multilateral issues. In his capacity of Acting Minister of Industry, Trade and Commerce, Mr. Lang took part in the bilateral talks when the question was discussed of fulfilment of the long-term wheat agreement.

It was agreed during these discussions that the fact that the Soviet Union and Canada were neighbors imposed additional obligations on both sides to maintain good relations. The talks set the stage for the future development of relations on the basis of mutual respect and international co-operation. Mr. Gromyko made it clear that the U.S.S.R. attached substantial importance to its relations with Canada. On his departure, he said that he was leaving Canada "with a conviction that this desire is shared by the Canadian side and that there exist prerequisites for Soviet-Canadian relations to be steadily enriched and to acquire a good-neighbor character in every sense of the term".

On the second day of his visit, Mr. Gromyko went for a drive across the Ottawa River to see the brilliant autumn colors of the leaves in the Gatineau Hills.

In a press conference immediately after Mr. Gromyko's departure, Mr. Sharp commented on the usefulness of the visit in promoting understanding and said it was "important, in relations between countries that are neighbors, as Canada and the Soviet Union are, and have very great common interests in peace and security, particularly in Europe, that there should be more frequent conversations between foreign ministers than have taken place in the past". Mr. Sharp announced that he had accepted in principle an invitation to visit the Soviet Union, the date of which would be determined at the mutual convenience of both sides.

The Ultimate Objects of the United Nations

PEACE AND THE GOOD LIFE FOR ALL MEN

The following is the text of the statement made during the general debate of the twenty-fourth session of the United Nations General Assembly by the Secretary of State for External Affairs, the Honorable Mitchell Sharp, on September 29, 1969:

Madame President:

Twenty-four years ago your delegation to the first General Assembly was one of four from the continent of Africa. Today that number has increased ninefold. In electing you to preside over the Assembly this year we acknowledge your personal contribution to the United Nations as well as the distinguished service your delegation has provided.

I should also like to join with those who have preceded me in this debate in paying tribute to our distinguished president of last year, Mr. Arenales. We remember him as a statesman who served his country and the United Nations faithfully and well.

As the United Nations approaches its twenty-fifth anniversary, it is faced with three imperatives: *first*, to avoid the scourge of global war and to contain and settle more limited conflicts; *second*, to speed the way to economic and social justice for the hundreds of millions of people who are now deprived of both; and, *third*, to come to grips with the serious institutional problems facing the organization at this time. This morning I shall have something to say on each of these matters as they appear to the Canadian Government.

Of these imperatives, the first two—the prevention of war and the struggle to raise the standard of living—are perhaps as old as mankind itself. The third—to strengthen and renew this organization—is new, and is peculiar to this time and this place. I choose, however, to deal with this question first, since Canada believes that the United Nations must fail to reach its goals if it cannot come to grips with its own problems. It is hard indeed to build something of value, something that will stand, if your tools are blunted and ill-designed for your purpose.

In addressing myself to this question, Madame President, I should like it to be absolutely clear that the criticisms I have to make and the remedies I will suggest come from an active and loyal member of the family of nations represented here. Canada has shown its confidence in this organization by its wholehearted participation in all aspects of the work of the United Nations. We could not conceive of a world in which the United Nations did not have a central and vital role to play.

The institutional problems facing this organization are difficult in them-

selves. They are compounded by the fact that, because of their intractability, there is something like a tacit conspiracy, in which we have all joined, to pretend they don't exist. The situation might be compared to the cumulative effect of pollution in a lake or the action of the sea on the foundations of Venice — failing vigorous corrective measures, a slow but certain process of destruction is going on all the time. If we do not act, there is a very real danger that the United Nations, instead of fulfilling its high purpose as a centre for harmonizing the actions of nations in the achievement of the objectives set out in the Charter, will become a sideshow on the international scene, its activities brushed aside as irrelevant.

Institutional Reform Needed

There are three areas in which remedial action is imperative:

First : The UN (including all its organs and associated agencies) is drowning in a sea of words. Talk is of the essence at the United Nations, but to be useful it must be kept within reasonable bounds. As we all know, this is not being done. The number of conferences and meetings, and the paper they produce, have increased to the point that even those members with the largest resources have difficulty in providing competent representation and coping with the flood of paper. As the conference-load increases, there has been a corresponding decrease in effectiveness. This has led governments to attach less importance to the United Nations activities and efforts. The credibility of the UN as a negotiating forum and as an instrument for resolving the world's problems is wasting away. Public confidence in the organization is being weakened and public support is being undermined.

We can and should act to arrest this process by identifying priorities and dealing with them in an effective and businesslike way. We must also find the new techniques needed to deal with the problem of the unwieldy size of UN committees and boards, particularly those responsible for UN action programs in the all-important field of development. Some of these boards are almost as large as the UN itself was not so many years ago, and have proved ill-suited to fulfill the purposes for which they were created.

I urge these measures because I believe they are essential to the future progress of the organization. At the same time, we should acknowledge that such remedial action can only deal with the symptoms rather than the disease itself. Member nations, locked in outdated conceptions of sovereignty and national interest, find debate to be a convenient substitute for action. So long as this attitude persists, the United Nations cannot hope to fulfill the aspirations of its founders.

Second : Even with the benefit of nearly a quarter-century of experience, we don't seem to have learned the lesson that confrontation between nations is no substitute for negotiation. During the past few years there has been mounting evidence that the great powers have recognized the sterility of

cold-war policies, but we have yet to see this realization translated into effective action. There is also the practice, which has become so common that it is taken for granted, of forcing the Assembly to vote on resolutions that attempt to translate moral judgments into calls for action which the organization manifestly has not the capacity, or, in some cases, the legal authority to carry out. Resolutions of this kind only hurt the cause they purport to serve.

Third: The programs and activities carried out by the UN family of organizations have multiplied during the last ten years. During that period, the total of the assessed budgets has more than doubled and, if the present growth rate were to continue, would reach half a billion dollars by 1974. The absence of effective control of budget expansion has meant that priorities have become blurred. Programs have been carried on long after they have ceased to be relevant to needs. Personnel with inadequate qualifications or capacities have been recruited and kept on rather than weeded out, and as a result the quality of the work of the organization has deteriorated.

The cure for this illness is a period of consolidation of existing activities before striking out in too many new directions. Action of this kind will enable us to take best advantage of the useful advice that will be forthcoming in the report of the Enlarged Committee on Program and Co-ordination and in Sir Robert Jackson's study on the capacity of UN agencies to administer development assistance programs.

I feel that I must express in the strongest terms my conviction that continued failure to deal effectively with these institutional problems has already begun to erode the foundations of the United Nations as a cathedral of hope for the aspirations of mankind. Powerful and wealthy nations may be able to contemplate this process with only a modicum of concern. For most member nations represented here, however, such a prospect is intolerable.

Madame President, you are known to all of us for your personal devotion to the United Nations, as well as for being the distinguished representative of a charter member which has contributed much to the organization. What I have just said shows that we share the views, expressed so cogently in your speech, about the future of this institution and what member states must do about it. For these reasons, may I express the hope that, in fulfilling your high office as President of this Assembly, you, and the officers elected to assist you, will accept as a challenge to your leadership the urgent need to launch a vigorous program of renewal. The new shoe of restraint and self-discipline will be bound to pinch for a time, but the resources saved can be used for constructive purposes. I am sure I speak for many delegations as well as my own when I pledge to do everything possible to assist you in this task.

I make this appeal today, Madame President, because it offers the only avenue for a renewed United Nations with a more streamlined and effective structure, where member nations will seek solutions rather than empty propaganda victories, a United Nations that will be more truly representative of

the aspirations of mankind. Such a revitalized organization would be better able to come to grips with its great dual task: to keep the peace and to improve the conditions of life on earth.

Primary Aim of UN

To keep the peace. This is the primary purpose of the United Nations.

The supreme challenge is to find something better than the balance of mutual fear and deterrence on which the present uneasy structure of global security rests. The new weapons now in the final stages of development in the Soviet Union and the United States give a new urgency to this task. Unless the world seizes this moment to stop the upward spiral in arms-race technology, we run a very real risk of a breakdown in the equilibrium of deterrence that now provides what security we have.

I should like to say here, Madame President, that Canada regards the strategic arms limitations talks that the U.S.S.R. and the United States have agreed to hold as the most significant development in recent years. We urge both parties to begin at once. If the talks are entered upon in good faith, with goodwill and without delay, they could prove to be a turning-point in world history.

Arms Control Treaties

At the last session of the General Assembly, Canada joined most members of the United Nations in welcoming the achievement of a treaty on the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons. We were the first nation with nuclear capacity to ratify this treaty. What the treaty contains is important enough but its promises are at least equally significant. None of the provisions of the NPT is more vital than Article VI, in which all parties to the treaty — and this applies particularly to the nuclear powers — agree “to pursue negotiations in good faith on effective measures relating to cessation of the nuclear arms race at an early date and to nuclear disarmament”.

Should we be discouraged by the slow rate of progress or by the fact that, although some 90 countries signed the non-proliferation treaty, only 17 have deposited the necessary instruments of ratification? I think not. One cannot afford to be discouraged when the survival of mankind itself is at stake. We look forward to this treaty coming into force this year, and we urge its early ratification by all governments that have not yet done so.

One of the most encouraging events in the field of arms control in recent days has been the coming into force of the treaty creating the Latin-American Nuclear-Free Zone, and Canada wishes to express its congratulations to the Latin-American countries responsible for this very positive step.

Of all the arms-control issues that have tried the patience of the world in recent years, the most onerous has been the effort to conclude a comprehensive test ban to supplement the 1963 prohibition of nuclear tests in the atmosphere,

under water and in outer space. The endless argument is continuing — over whether “on-site” inspection is necessary in order to verify violations of an agreement to prohibit underground tests or whether national means of seismological detection are adequate for this purpose. At the last General Assembly, a resolution was adopted calling for the highest priority to be assigned to effective measures to limit the nuclear-arms race and to achieve nuclear disarmament. In the hope that a step forward could be made toward overcoming the verification problem, Canada proposed, in the Conference of the Committee on Disarmament at Geneva, that an international system of seismic-data collection should be explored through enquiries to all member states seeking information about the facilities at their disposal and their willingness to make information freely available to all nations. This proposal will be pursued in this Assembly.

Last Earthly Frontiers

The sea-bed and the deep ocean-floor are the last earthly frontiers. The last General Assembly decided that this new environment beyond the present limits of national jurisdiction must be preserved for peaceful purposes. Canada, as a country with one of the longest coast-lines in the world, has a vital interest in the fulfilment of that decision. Consequently, when the arms-control aspects of this question were considered by the Committee in Geneva, we put forward specific suggestions designed to ensure the protection of the interests of coastal states and smaller countries. We were particularly concerned to safeguard these interests through adequate verification provisions to assure compliance with any arms-control treaty on the sea-bed.

The results of the deliberations of the Standing Committee on the Sea-bed and the Disarmament Committee discussions of this question in Geneva are not all that we had hoped would be achieved. We shall nevertheless continue to co-operate actively, as a member of the Standing Committee on the Sea-bed and as a member of the Geneva Disarmament Committee, in efforts to achieve the two main purposes of the United Nations on these questions — to develop an effective legal regime for the sea-bed and ocean-floor beyond the limits of national jurisdiction and to ensure the preservation, for peaceful purposes, of the largest possible area of the sea-bed.

Chemical and Biological Warfare

I turn now to that other menace to the survival of the human race — chemical and biological warfare. The Secretary-General's report has told us once again — if we needed to be told — the tragic consequences of using these dreadful weapons. At this Assembly we shall be considering proposals to eliminate them.

We recognize the valuable contribution represented by the draft treaty on biological warfare prepared by Britain and tabled in the Conference of the Committee on Disarmament. The Secretary-General's report, together with

proposals advanced in Geneva and the draft convention put forward in this Assembly by the Soviet Union, will help to guide and facilitate our deliberations. The procedural resolution Canada sponsored, and which we hope will be included in the report of the Conference of the Committee on Disarmament, is directed to the same ends.

Let us remember, too, Madame President, that the founders of the United Nations provided in the Charter procedures for the pacific settlement of disputes designed to stop the insane pattern of fighting and bloodshed which disfigures our globe from time to time, and today particularly in Vietnam, the Middle East and Nigeria. It is a sad commentary on the state of the world community that it has no capacity to order the cessation of hostilities, except to the extent that the combatants are influenced by world public opinion. The current tense situation in the Middle East perhaps illustrates most graphically the nature of our dilemma. The Security Council unanimously adopted in November 1967 a resolution which imposed an equitable balance of obligation on all the parties to the dispute. Its full implementation could have restored peace to the Middle East. Yet today the conflict continues to rage.

We can do more, I am convinced, to improve the machinery to head off disputes before they erupt into open warfare. This is why Canada is urging forward the peacekeeping studies being carried on in the Committee of 33. In a working group of that Committee, a concerted effort has been made during the past year to develop a "model" for the conduct of military observation missions authorized by the Security Council. As a participant in this study, we have been encouraged by what has been accomplished, but, at the same time, we are disappointed that the possibilities for much greater progress have not been realized. Once the model for an observation mission has been completed, the working group should go on to develop models for other kinds of peacekeeping operations.

These are difficult problems, with political, legal and financial implications. Perhaps, as a representative of a country with a certain experience in peacekeeping operations, I might offer a comment. It is essential that these problems should be given urgent consideration. There are many real risks in dispatching peacekeeping forces in moments of crisis without having worked out the necessary arrangements in advance. The Committee of 33 has been helpful in drawing attention to the questions that must be answered. They have been less successful in providing the answer. Meanwhile, Canada is continuing, in the face of discouragingly slow political progress in Cyprus, to participate in the peacekeeping operation there, as well as in the United Nations peace observation missions in Palestine and Kashmir.

Red Cross Conference

Madame President, there is so much to be done to ease the suffering and misery of the innocent civilians who get caught up in the vortex of war. It was for

this reason that Canada joined with Norway at the recent Red Cross Conference in Istanbul in urging the adoption of a declaration of principles on international humanitarian relief to civilian populations in disaster areas. Two other related resolutions, also co-sponsored by Canada, were adopted at the Conference. One of these resolutions established a committee to devise workable rules to supplement existing humanitarian law. The other resolution focused the attention of this new committee on non-international armed conflicts.

The Canadian Government has lent its full support to efforts by the Red Cross to go further than has heretofore proven possible to build a system of legal as well as moral standards of humanitarian behavior. We are extremely gratified at the success achieved at the Red Cross Conference and we pledge to do our utmost to follow up the Conference decisions with specific action.

The second great goal of the United Nations is to bring economic and social justice to the world by providing an opportunity for the developing countries to escape the treadmill of poverty on which so many are trapped. If we can liberate the creative and productive powers of the untold numbers of men and women whose energies are now bound up in the struggle to exist, the future horizons of mankind are immensely enlarged. There are many who say that such a goal is utopian. I say that the words of the United Nations Charter are testimony that for a generation the world's leaders have believed that it is attainable.

A great deal is being done. Development assistance has reached record levels and developing nations are becoming increasingly skillful at shaping and implementing plans for economic and social advancement. The economic indicators show that the poor nations are making some headway in their struggle to break the shackles of poverty.

What is being done does not yet match the need, and some recent trends give cause for serious concern. Although the volume of assistance has grown substantially during the past decade, continued growth is threatened by economic difficulties and disenchantment in some key developed countries. In recent years, the terms on which assistance is granted have shown a marked tendency to harden. For many developing countries the growing burden of debt service is eating away at foreign-exchange earnings already eroded by falling prices for many of their traditional exports, and by barriers to their access to markets.

It is for this reason that the study being undertaken by the World Bank's Commission on International Development headed by a former Prime Minister of Canada, Mr. L. B. Pearson, and Sir Robert Jackson's study of the capacity of the development machinery of the United Nations are so important and so timely. Their reports will provide new insights into the strength and weaknesses of past policies and procedures, and their recommendations will provide the basis for more effective international action in the future.

Never before has there been such a concerted assault by mankind on poverty and restricted opportunity. Yet even greater efforts are required to

broaden the base of public support throughout the world for the cause of international development in the Second Development Decade.

Setting guide-lines and targets is only a beginning. Success or failure will ultimately depend on the determination of us all, the developed and developing countries, and the international institutions, as together we come to grips with specific development projects.

Let me relate these considerations to Canadian policy. It is our declared national objective to improve the lot of the poor and underprivileged through development and trade. The level of the Canadian development assistance program has increased very substantially in recent years and, despite the application of budgetary restraints to high-priority domestic programs, it will continue to grow.

Moreover, we are making a determined effort to improve the quality of our development assistance and our capacity to administer the larger program that we envisage for the future. Our experience has convinced us that development is hindered as much by a lack of knowledge, or a failure to apply the knowledge already available, as by inadequate resources. At this particular moment in time, the knowledge gap is even more critical than the resource gap. As a contribution to meeting this need, we expect to introduce legislation in the forthcoming session of the Canadian Parliament to provide for the establishment of a Canadian International Development Research Center.

The goal of this Center will be to devise and develop new ways to apply science and technology and the latest techniques of analysis to overcoming the very subtle combinations of political, economic and social factors that hinder the process of development. Although the direction and operation of the Center will be a Canadian responsibility, it is intended to enlist the aid of experts and scholars from all parts of the world.

To keep the peace and to improve the conditions of life on earth — these are tasks that call for all that is best in us. They will be fulfilled if we can lift our eyes from the narrow concerns of transient political advantage and national self-interest to a broader horizon that encompasses the whole family of man. We are all bound up together. It is together that we must learn to live in peace, it is together that we must apply all our resources to the betterment of the human condition. The United Nations can be the supreme instrument for the achievement of these great tasks. It can also become no more than a monument to man's lost hopes and lost opportunities. It is the member nations that will determine what course this organization will follow and like you, Madame President, we have faith.

Visit of New Zealand Prime Minister

FOLLOWING visits to Washington and New York, the Prime Minister of New Zealand, the Right Honorable Keith J. Holyoake, paid an official visit to Ottawa from September 21 to 23 at the invitation of the Government of Canada.

The Prime Minister was accompanied by his wife, by Mr. George Laking, New Zealand's Secretary of External Affairs, and Mrs. Laking, and by Mr. P. Barnes, Mr. Holyoake's principal Private Secretary. The New Zealand party flew to Canada from New York aboard a Canadian Government *Viscount*, arriving late in the afternoon. They were greeted by the Secretary of State for External Affairs, the Honorable Mitchell Sharp, the High Commissioner for New Zealand, His Excellency Dean J. Eyre, the Secretary to the Governor General, Mr. Esmond Butler, representatives of the Canadian Government, and members of the New Zealand High Commission. The visitors went on to Government House, where they were the guests of the Governor General and Mrs. Michener.

The following morning, Mr. Holyoake met with Prime Minister Trudeau, informally and alone, for half an hour, after which they were joined by other



Prime Minister Holyoake (center) and the High Commissioner for New Zealand, Mr. Dean J. Eyre (left), share a joke with Prime Minister Trudeau outside the Parliament Buildings in Ottawa.

officials. The two Prime Ministers discussed a wide range of topics, including China, Vietnam and the relations between their countries.

At noon the same day, Prime Minister Holyoake attended a Canadian Club luncheon, following which he delivered a brief address, in which he drew attention to the close and friendly ties that had traditionally existed between New Zealand and Canada. In particular, he stressed the importance of cultivating these good relations and not taking them for granted.

During the afternoon, the New Zealand Prime Minister taped a television interview for release the same night. The highlight of his interview was probably a vivid and persuasive discussion of the merits of New Zealand lamb. Following this interview, Mr. Holyoake held a press conference at the National Press Building.

Early in the evening, Prime Minister and Mrs. Holyoake held a reception at the residence of the High Commissioner for New Zealand. Later they were guests of Prime Minister Trudeau at dinner at 24 Sussex Drive.

Next morning, Prime Minister Holyoake and his advisers paid visits to the Minister of Industry, Trade and Commerce, the Honorable Jean-Luc Pepin, the Minister of National Defence, the Honorable Léo Cadieux, and the Secretary of State for External Affairs. Later in the day, before their departure for New Zealand by way of Toronto and Los Angeles, the New Zealand visitors were guests at a lunch given by Governor-General and Mrs. Michener.

International Conference of the Red Cross

TWENTY-FIRST SESSION, ISTANBUL, SEPTEMBER 1969

THE International Conference of the Red Cross, held at intervals of four years, brings together representatives of the League of Red Cross Societies, the International Committee of the Red Cross, the National Societies of the Red Cross, Red Crescent and Red Lion and Sun and governmental delegations of states parties to the 1949 Geneva Red Cross Conventions. The purpose of the Conference is to establish broad guide-lines for the policy to be followed during the intervening years. Between Conferences, regular meetings of the Board of Governors of the League of Red Cross Societies and the International Committee of the Red Cross are held. The Standing Commission of the Red Cross is elected at each International Conference and meets in Geneva at regular intervals.

The Government of Canada was represented at the 1969 International Conference in Istanbul by a delegation headed by M. H. Wershof, Canadian Ambassador to Denmark, assisted by officers of the Department of National Health and Welfare, National Defence and External Affairs. The Canadian Red Cross Society was also represented by a delegation headed by the National President, Brigadier-General I. S. Johnston, who was supported by members of the Society from across Canada.

During the course of its deliberations, the Conference adopted a total of 24 resolutions. The following points were of particular interest for Canada, and particularly for the Canadian governmental delegation:

A draft declaration of principles was drawn up by the Canadian and Norwegian Governments with a view to documenting a number of particular principles to govern the provision of international relief to civilian populations suffering from disaster situations, regardless of cause. This initiative grew out of concern expressed by the Canadian Secretary of State for External Affairs in his address to the United Nations General Assembly at its twenty-third session in 1968. The initiative at Istanbul followed consultations undertaken by Canadian and Norwegian representatives abroad with a large number of countries. During the course of the deliberations at Istanbul, a consensus developed in favor of the adoption by the Conference of a declaration of principles for international humanitarian relief and, on the joint sponsorship of the Canadian and Norwegian Governments, a declaration was adopted that outlined six basic principles.⁽¹⁾

The Canadian delegation also undertook to promote the establishment of a working group to study the possibility of drafting a protocol to the Fourth

(1) The text of this declaration appears as Appendix I.

Geneva Convention. Such a protocol would have the effect of extending provisions of the Convention to civilian populations in non-international conflicts, whereas the provisions currently extend only to sovereign states which are parties to the Convention. Considerable interest was expressed by a number of delegations and, following further consultations, it was agreed to present a resolution to the Convention which would have the effect of establishing working groups of international experts to examine the four Geneva Conventions with a view to their possible extension to internal armed conflicts. This resolution was unanimously adopted by the Conference on the joint sponsorship of the Swiss Federal Government and the Canadian Government. ⁽²⁾

In order to assist the International Committee of the Red Cross in its assigned task of providing assistance to victims of armed conflict, the Canadian delegation also co-sponsored a resolution drawing attention to the desirability of making more specific and supplementing the provisions of Article 3, which is common to the four Geneva Conventions. In company with the Norwegian and Belgian Governments and the Red Cross Societies of France, Italy and Senegal, the Canadian Government sponsored a resolution which was approved by the earlier session of the Conference and which asked the International Committee of the Red Cross to devote special attention to the problem of expanding or supplementing the provisions of Article 3 within the framework of the more general studies being undertaken to develop humanitarian law. ⁽³⁾ The Secretary of State for External Affairs subsequently indicated, in his remarks at the twenty-fourth session of the United Nations General Assembly, that Canada would actively support the work of the International Commission of the Red Cross in regard to the resolutions adopted by the Conference at Istanbul and that the Government would take an active part in giving concrete application to the decisions reached by the Conference.

Appendix I

Plenary Meeting

DECLARATION OF PRINCIPLES FOR INTERNATIONAL HUMANITARIAN RELIEF TO CIVILIAN POPULATIONS IN DISASTER SITUATIONS

*Resolution submitted by the Norwegian and Canadian Governments
approved in principle by the General Commission and unanimously
recommended by an ad hoc drafting-committee appointed under Item
4 (c) of the agenda.*

The XXIst International Conference of the Red Cross,

(2) See Appendix II.

(3) See Appendix III.

Noting that in the present century the international community has accepted increased responsibility for relief of human suffering in any form;

Affirming that human suffering in all its manifestations is of deep concern to the conscience of mankind and that world opinion requires effective action for the relief of such suffering;

Affirming that one of the major purposes of the community of nations as laid down in the Charter of the United Nations is to achieve international co-operation in solving international problems of an economic, social, cultural or humanitarian character;

Noting with satisfaction the improvements in the ability of the international community to provide various forms of humanitarian relief which have been made through international agreements and by the International Red Cross and other impartial international humanitarian organizations;

Recognizing that further steps have to be taken by the international community to ensure prompt and effective relief action to civilian populations in natural or other disaster situations;

Adopts the following Declaration of Principles:

1. The fundamental concern of mankind and of the international community in disaster situations is the protection and welfare of the individual and the safeguarding of basic human rights.
2. Relief by impartial international humanitarian organizations for civilian populations in natural or other disaster situations should as far as possible be treated as a humanitarian and non-political matter and should be so organized as to avoid prejudicing sovereign and other legal rights in order that the confidence of the parties to a conflict in the impartiality of such organizations may be preserved.
3. The activities of impartial international humanitarian organizations for the benefit of civilian populations should be co-ordinated in order to secure prompt action and effective allocation of resources and to avoid duplication of effort.
4. Disaster relief for the benefit of civilian populations is to be provided without discrimination and the offer of such relief by an impartial international humanitarian organization ought not to be regarded as an unfriendly act.
5. All states are requested to exercise their sovereign and other legal rights so as to facilitate the transit, admission and distribution of relief supplies provided by impartial international humanitarian organizations for the benefit of civilian populations in disaster areas when disaster situations imperil the life and welfare of such populations.
6. All authorities in disaster areas should facilitate disaster relief activities by impartial international humanitarian organizations for the benefit of civilian populations.

Appendix II

REAFFIRMATION AND DEVELOPMENT OF THE LAWS AND CUSTOMS APPLICABLE IN ARMED CONFLICTS

The XXIst International Conference of the Red Cross,

Considering that armed conflicts and other forms of violence which continue to rage in the world, continuously imperil peace and the values of humanity,

Noting that, in order to strive against such dangers, the limits imposed upon the waging of hostilities by the requirements of humanity and the dictates of the public conscience must not cease to be reaffirmed and defined,

Recalling the resolutions previously adopted on this matter by the International Conference of the Red Cross, and in particular Resolution 28 of the XXth International Conference,

Recognizing the importance of the United Nations General Assembly's Resolution 2444 adopted on 19 December 1968, with respect to human rights in armed conflicts, as well as Resolution 2454 adopted on 20 December 1968,

Having taken note with gratitude of the work undertaken by the ICRC in this field, following Resolution 28 of the XXth International Conference and, in particular, of the extensive report (D.S. 4 a,b,e) that the ICRC has prepared on this subject,

Underlines the necessity and the urgency of reaffirming and developing humanitarian rules of international law applicable in armed conflicts of all kinds, in order to strengthen the effective protection of the fundamental rights of human beings, in keeping with the Geneva Conventions of 1949,

Requests the ICRC on the basis of its report to pursue actively its efforts in this regard with a view to

- (a) proposing, as soon as possible, concrete rules which would supplement the existing humanitarian law;
- (b) inviting governmental, Red Cross and other experts representing the principal legal and social systems in the world to meet for consultations with the ICRC on these proposals;
- (c) submitting these proposals to Governments for their comments, and
- (d) if it is deemed desirable, recommending to the appropriate authority to convene one or more diplomatic conferences of States parties to the Geneva Conventions and other interested states, in order to elaborate international legal instruments incorporating these proposals.

Encourages the ICRC to maintain and develop, in accordance with the United Nations General Assembly's Resolution 2444 the cooperation established with that organization in order to harmonize the various studies undertaken, and to collaborate with all other official and private organizations with a view to ensuring the co-ordination of such studies,

Requests National Red Cross Societies to create active public interest in such a cause, which is of concern to all mankind,

Urges all governments to support the efforts of the International Red Cross in this respect.

Appendix III

Plenary Meeting

PROTECTION OF VICTIMS OF NON-INTERNATIONAL ARMED CONFLICTS

Resolution submitted by the Canadian and Norwegian Governments, by the French, Italian and Senegalese Red Cross Societies, and by the Belgian Government and Red Cross.

The XX1st International Conference of the Red Cross,

Considering that since the conclusion of the Geneva Conventions in 1949 non-international armed conflicts have been on the increase and caused much suffering,

Whereas Article 3 common to the four Geneva Conventions had already rendered great service in protecting the victims of these conflicts,

Considering however that experience has brought out certain points on the basic of which this Article could be made more specific or supplemented,

Asks the ICRC to devote special attention to this problem within the framework of the more general studies it has started to develop humanitarian law, in particular with the co-operation of Government experts.



DIPLOMATIC APPOINTMENT TO THE VATICAN

The Secretary of State for External Affairs, the Honorable Mitchell Sharp, recently announced the appointment of Dr. John Everett Robbins as first Canadian Ambassador to the Vatican. Dr. Robbins is the present Editor-in-Chief of the *Encyclopedia Canadiana* and former President of Brandon University, Manitoba.

Monsignor Emanuele Clarizio, at present Apostolic Delegate in Ottawa, will be the first Papal Pro-Nuncio in Canada, and as such will rank as an Ambassador and will be a member of the Diplomatic Corps.

The Government of Canada and the Vatican are confident that this step will contribute to their mutual understanding and to exchanges of views between them on international matters of common concern.

Visit of the President of Tanzania

FROM September 29 to October 2, 1969, the President of the United Republic of Tanzania, His Excellency Julius K. Nyerere, paid a state visit to Canada. President Nyerere was accompanied by the Tanzanian Minister of State for Foreign Affairs, the Honorable Stephen Mhando, the Zanzibar Minister of Agriculture and Land Reform, the Honorable R. L. Abdalla, the Tanzanian Chief of the Defence Staff, Major-General M. S. H. Sarakikya, and nine officials. The President was formally welcomed at Uplands Airport in Ottawa by the Right Honorable Roland Michener, Governor General of Canada. The Secretary of State for External Affairs, the Honorable Mitchell Sharp, and members of the Diplomatic Corps were in attendance. A state dinner and reception in the President's honor were given the same evening by the Governor General and Mrs. Michener.

Ottawa Agenda

On September 30, President Nyerere had extensive private conversations with Prime Minister Trudeau. These talks were subsequently continued with



President Julius K. Nyerere of Tanzania in conversation with Canada's Governor-General Roland Michener (center) and Prime Minister Pierre Elliott Trudeau.

Mr. Sharp and the Minister of Industry, Trade and Commerce, the Honorable Jean-Luc Pepin. The discussions covered Canadian-Tanzanian bilateral relations and international matters of interest to both countries, concentrating on such African questions as the Nigerian civil war and the situation in southern Africa. The same day, the President was the guest of the Prime Minister at lunch, where he met other Canadian friends of Tanzania. That afternoon he was interviewed by the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation, and later gave a formal dinner and reception in honor of the Governor General and Mrs. Michener.

The President had further talks with the Prime Minister on October 1, followed by discussions with senior officials of the Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA), as well as with the Executive Secretary of the Canadian University Services Overseas (CUSO). Canadian economic aid to Tanzania has increased steadily since that country's acquisition of independence in 1961. For its part, CUSO maintains its largest program in Tanzania, with 120 volunteers this year.

Toronto Agenda

On the afternoon of October 1, President Nyerere and his party left Ottawa for Toronto, where they were greeted by the Lieutenant-Governor of Ontario, the Honorable W. Ross Macdonald. The President attended a dinner given in his honor by the President of the University of Toronto. On October 2, he called on the Mayor of Toronto and later attended a lunch given in his honor by the Lieutenant-Governor. Before departure that evening for Stockholm, President Nyerere was presented with an honorary degree by the University of Toronto and delivered a major address on the responsibility of the West in the struggle for freedom in white-dominated southern Africa. He was accorded a standing ovation.

President Nyerere's visit can be seen as a further step in the steady development of Canadian-Tanzanian relations. Brought together by their membership in the Commonwealth and their shared concern with development problems, Canada and Tanzania have evolved a close and effective dialogue on questions of mutual concern. The warmth and frankness of the exchanges in Ottawa demonstrated again the value of this relation.

The International Labor Organization

WORLD EMPLOYMENT PROGRAM

THIS year the International Labor Organization marks the fiftieth anniversary of its founding in 1919 as an autonomous body within the framework of the League of Nations. During this half-century of existence, the ILO, which is composed of government, worker and employer representatives from 118 countries, has evolved from a body primarily concerned with setting labor standards into one which today stands ready to take direct action to improve the working and social conditions of people anywhere in the world.

It is in keeping with this role that the ILO, now a Specialized Agency of the United Nations, begins its sixth decade of service by spearheading a World Employment Program aimed at eliminating poverty in the underdeveloped countries of Latin America, Asia and Africa.

David A. Morse, Director-General of the International Labor Office, the ILO's permanent secretariat, believes that the term "World Employment Program" spells out exactly what is involved in a far-reaching undertaking of this kind:

It must be an *employment* program because the only path to a better way of life in the poorer countries is through productive work by the people themselves.

It must be a *world* program because, while the main burden will be on the developing countries, the program cannot succeed without the help of the industrialized nations — individually through bilateral programs and collectively through the ILO and other international organizations. In addition, the industrialized nations themselves are faced with some difficult employment problems which may also come within the scope of the world program.

In this international attack on poverty, action will be taken simultaneously on two fronts. As workers are being trained, employment to make use of their skills will be generated by extensive programs aimed at promoting industrial investment, rural redevelopment and international trade. A look at the figures on the expected increase in the labor force indicates how urgent the need is for a wide-ranging program of this kind.

ILO experts estimate that, during the 1970-80 decade, some 280 million people will join the world's labor force. From this number, Asia and Africa will get 173 million and 32 million respectively, while in Latin America the increase will amount to 29 million. By contrast, the respective figures for the Soviet Union, North America and Europe are 18 million, 17 million and 12 million.

Training a Vast Labor Force

The formidable task of equipping this horde of potential workers with skills for productive work will be one of the principal projects for the ILO during the 1970s, and will mean drawing heavily on the Organization's vast experience in

the fields of manpower planning and organization, management, worker and vocational training and employment development. Obviously, action in those areas will have to relate closely to developments in the economic, social, educational, agricultural and industrial fields. For this reason, complex working arrangements will have to be made with other United Nations bodies, specialized international agencies as well as government, employer and workers' groups in the countries involved.

The first step in the World Employment Program calls for the completion of an intensive research program. ILO teams are now at work in Latin America, Asia and Africa assembling data on a wide variety of subjects. For example, they are carrying out surveys on the growth of population, existing employment and unemployment conditions, training and educational facilities, the movement of workers between rural and urban areas and many other aspects related to the use, or non-use, of human resources.

The results of these fact-finding missions will then be consolidated and will form the basis for a series of regional plans that will contain proposals for action by governments, employer and worker organizations, the ILO and other international bodies.

The next stage will be the presentation of these action programs before the annual International Labor Conference, where endorsement of the broad outlines of policy will be sought from member countries of the ILO. Agreement will signal the start of the various programs.

Ottawa Plan

Through the World Employment Program the ILO is carrying on a tradition of taking action to deal with the creation of employment. During the 1930s, it adopted proposals to relieve massive unemployment brought on by the Depression. Since the end of the Second World War, training workers and managers in modern skills has been one of its major contributions to the UN's technical assistance programs. In 1964, the International Conference adopted a convention and recommendation outlining an employment policy which placed particular emphasis on the problems of underdeveloped countries.

This same general theme was on the agenda when the American member countries of the ILO met at Ottawa in 1966. From this conference emerged the Ottawa Plan for Human Resources designed to deal with conditions in Latin America and the Caribbean regions. When the formal ILO resolution calling for "a world plan for employment and human resources development" was adopted in 1967, the Ottawa Plan was incorporated as the first of the regional components of the World Employment Program.

The Ottawa Plan research team has been working out of Santiago, Chile, since 1968. The ILO provided a nucleus of five experts, which was joined by representatives of six other organizations. The United Nations is represented by its Economic Commission for Latin America, by the Food and Agriculture

Organization and the Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization. The balance of the team is composed of delegates from the Latin American Institute for Economic and Social Planning, the Inter-American Development Bank and the Organization of American States.

The makeup of this team is a good illustration of the many areas that will be covered in drawing up the regional programs. It also shows clearly the magnitude of the task of co-ordinating activities, which will fall mainly on the ILO. However, as Director-General Morse pointed out:

A less ambitious project for advancing social justice would not have been worthy of the Organization's fiftieth anniversary.

CONFERENCES

- Universal Postal Union, sixteenth congress : Tokyo, October 1 - November 14
- Commonwealth Parliamentary Association, general conference : Port-of-Spain, October 4-19
- Colombo Plan Consultative Committee : Victoria, B.C., October 14-31
- North Atlantic Assembly, fifteenth annual conference : Brussels, October 27-31
- Interparliamentary Union, fifty-seventh interparliamentary conference: New Delhi, October 30 - November 7
- Food and Agriculture Organization, fifteenth session : Rome, November 8-27
- International Union for Conservation of Nature and Natural Resources, eleventh Technical Meeting : New Delhi, November 24 - December 1
- NATO ministerial meeting: Brussels, December 3-5
- Association internationale des Parlementaires de Langue française, second annual conference: Tunisia, January 1970
- Sixth International Mining Congress : Madrid, June 1-6, 1970



APPOINTMENTS, TRANSFERS AND RESIGNATIONS IN THE DEPARTMENT OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS

- Mr. S. Abrahams posted from Ottawa to the Canadian Embassy, Washington, effective September 9, 1969.
- Mr. P. Asselin, Canadian Consul General in San Francisco, appointed Canadian Consul General in New Orleans, effective September 10, 1969.
- Mr. J. D. Puddington posted from the Office of the High Commissioner for Canada, New Delhi, to Ottawa, effective September 10, 1969.
- Mr. P. S. Cooper, Canadian Commissioner to the International Commission for Supervision and Control in Laos, posted to Ottawa, effective September 10, 1969.
- Mr. A. R. Potvin posted from the Canadian Embassy, Port-au-Prince, to the Office of the High Commissioner for Canada, London, effective September 11, 1969.
- Mr. C. J. Woodsworth, Canadian Ambassador to South Africa, appointed High Commissioner for Canada to Pakistan, effective September 12, 1969.
- Mr. W. V. Clifford resigned from the Department of External Affairs, effective September 12, 1969.
- Mr. M. Dupuy posted from the Delegation of Canada to the North Atlantic Council, Brussels, to Ottawa, effective September 13, 1969.

Mr. C. J. Small, Permanent Delegate of Canada to the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development, Paris, appointed High Commissioner for Canada to Islamabad, effective September 15, 1969.

Mr. G. Lavertu appointed to the Department of External Affairs as Foreign Service Officer 1, effective September 15, 1969.

Mr. G. A. Calkin joined the Department of External Affairs as Administrative Trainee, effective September 15, 1969.

TREATY INFORMATION

Current Action

Bilateral

Federal Republic of Germany

Agreement between the Government of Canada and the Government of the Federal Republic of Germany concerning the use of the Churchill Research Range.

Ottawa July 8, 1969.

Entered into force July 8, 1969.

Hungary

Protocol to renew for a period of three years the Trade Agreement between Canada and the Hungarian People's Republic concluded in Ottawa on June 11, 1964.

Signed in Budapest August 9, 1968.

Entered into force provisionally August 9, 1968.

Instruments of Ratification exchanged at Ottawa September 23, 1969.

Entered into force definitively September 23, 1969.

Peru

Agreement between the Government of Canada and the Government of Peru relating to the terms of financing for the sale of wheat by Canada to Peru.

Signed at Ottawa July 4, 1969.

Entered into force July 4, 1969.

United States of America

Exchange of Notes between the Government of Canada and the Government of the United States of America amending the agreement of October 6, 1966, concerning the establishment of a meteorological rocket project at Cold Lake, Alberta.

Ottawa February 13 and April 24, 1969.

Entered into force April 24, 1969.

Exchange of Notes between the Government of Canada and the Government of the United States of America concerning pilotage services in the Great Lakes and the St. Lawrence Seaway west of St. Regis (with a memorandum of understanding).

Washington July 31, 1969.

Entered into force July 31, 1969.

Exchange of Notes between the Government of Canada and the Government of the United States of America concerning adjustments in flood control payments in connection with the Duncan and Arrow Dams.

Washington August 18, 1969.

EXTERNAL AFFAIRS

*External Affairs is issued monthly in English and French by the
Department of External Affairs, Ottawa.*

*It provides reference material on Canada's external relations
and reports the current work and activities of the Department.*

Any material in this publication may be reproduced.

Citation of External Affairs as the source would be appreciated.

*Subscription rates: Canada, the United States and Mexico,
\$2.00 a year; other countries, \$2.50; students in Canada,
the United States and Mexico, \$1.00 a year; in other
countries, \$1.50. Subscriptions are sent post free.*

*Remittances, payable to the Receiver General of Canada,
should be sent to the Queen's Printer, Ottawa, Canada.*

*Authorized as Second Class Mail, Post Office Department,
Ottawa.*

Published by authority of
the Honorable Mitchell Sharp,
Secretary of State for External Affairs

Vol. XXI, No. 12

Contents

December 1969

Canada, A Middle Power in a Changing World	428
Canadian Totem-pole Presented to New Zealand	434
Consultative Committee of the Colombo Plan	438
The Parliamentary Centre for Foreign Affairs and Foreign Trade	446
Visit of Mr. Sharp to the Middle East	451
Visit of Burmese Foreign Minister	455
Canadian Contribution to UN Development Program	456
The International Labor Organization	457
Aerial Mapping Loan Agreement with Kenya	460
Visit of African Public Service Trainees	461
<i>External Affairs in Parliament</i>	<i>462</i>
<i>Ratification by U.S. and U.S.S.R. of Non-Proliferation Treaty</i>	<i>462</i>
<i>Shipment of Relief Supplies to Secessionist Nigeria</i>	<i>462</i>
<i>Appointments, Transfers and Resignations in the Department of External Affairs</i>	<i>466</i>
Index to Volume XXI	468

Canada, A Middle Power in a Changing World

AN ADDRESS BY THE HONORABLE MITCHELL SHARP, SECRETARY OF STATE FOR EXTERNAL AFFAIRS, TO THE COUNCIL ON FOREIGN AFFAIRS, NEW YORK, OCTOBER 20, 1969.

WHEN Canada's Prime Minister, Pierre Elliott Trudeau, addressed the National Press Club in Washington earlier this year, he said that Canada is rather in the position of someone sharing a bed with an elephant — however well-disposed the beast is, every twitch and grunt affects you. His colorful language exactly describes the situation between our two countries. When your President addresses the nation on television, our networks carry the program as a matter of course. This isn't just a friendly gesture to a neighbor, it isn't just because Canadians take a neighborly interest in American affairs — it is because everything the United State does and everything your President says is of direct and immediate importance to us, and for that matter, to every country on earth.

Nothing is in itself more important to Canada than our relationship with the United States. It is probably the closest and most complex relationship existing between any two nations. It covers the whole spectrum of affairs from the maintenance of jointly-owned border monuments to the orderly development and effective defence of the North American continent. As Canada's foreign minister, I am also aware of your country's position as leader of the Western nations and as a preponderant influence in the world as a whole. Canada is a sovereign nation and acts as such. It is also, we like to think, a pragmatic and realistic nation. We pursue a foreign policy designed to promote our own national interest, but we know that in the development of every aspect of our foreign policy the foreign policy objectives, initiatives and activities of the United States must be taken into account.

Canada is actively carrying on negotiations in Stockholm aimed at an exchange of diplomats between Ottawa and Peking. How these negotiations will end remains to be seen. I mention them here only by way of example. In this particular case, the views of my Government are at variance with the views of yours, but that doesn't mean that we failed to take the United States position into account. Exchanges between our governments on this subject have been — to use a phrase the Soviets like — frank and comradely. The important thing is that after considering your position carefully we followed the course that we believe serves our national interest and that your Government, despite its preponderant power and its reservations as to the course we are following, has respected our right to pursue that course.

Canada No Satellite

The Communist world, and indeed other countries that know better, like to refer to Canada as a satellite of the United States. This suits their purpose. When Prague dared to differ ideologically with Moscow, it encountered the mailed fist of Soviet armed might and Czechoslovakia's satellite status was affirmed before the whole world. When Ottawa and Washington differ, there is straight talk — and so there should be — but the principle of sovereignty is honored in the spirit as well as the letter of the law.

Canada's right to differ from the United States is important, perhaps more to us than to you. But I don't want to dwell on it any further. More important is that Canada and the United States share the same great national objectives and the same hopes for mankind. Where we will often differ is in the means by which each of our countries works toward the fulfilment of these objectives and these hopes.

The title of my address suggests that Canada accepts its role as a "middle" power. I use the term because it is in general currency. I am not sure, however, that it has much real meaning in today's world.

There is a faintly old-fashioned ring about classifying countries as great, middle or small powers. In the nineteenth century, nations were ranked by the size of their naval fleets and there were only five or six "great powers". They were the ones with battleships. Now the battleships have gone and so has the whole order that they symbolized. One of the really striking developments on the world scene in the past 25 years is the advent of vastly greater numbers of independent states. It is very much more difficult, if not impossible, to classify them as great, middle or small powers.

The conception of degrees of "power" remains. It is still true that nations have varying capacities to influence the course of events outside their own borders. None of us is completely independent. The actions of every nation impinge increasingly on the others, and not even the greatest powers can entirely disregard the interplay of national decisions.

Conditions for Power

The capacity of a state to influence other states rests fundamentally on three factors: economic capacity, military strength and political influence. No nation can be considered a power of consequence unless it has a measure of capacity in all three. Nevertheless a nation can place great emphasis on one sphere of activity and much less on the others. It is also possible for a country to be compelled by circumstances to rely heavily on one source of national strength.

There are cases of nations which have considerable economic capacity but have chosen not to acquire or to employ military strength. Postwar Japan is an economic power of major proportions which has decided to maintain only modest military forces and to rely on the United States for its security requirements. Britain, on the other hand, is a nation whose economic and military strength

has undergone a relative decline. But British political influence is still very significant. We have other states militarily very strong in relation to their economic capacity and their political influence. Israel is an interesting example. The circumstances of that country's recent history have compelled it to devote an extremely high proportion of its resources to military purposes in order to survive.

In Israel we also have an example of another dimension to the whole question of the "power" of modern states — the geographical dimension. A nation may play an important part in some region of the world because of its capacity in one or more of the three areas I mentioned a moment ago, but its effective influence may not extend much beyond the region. Israel's military capacity relative to its neighbors is obviously very high and, for this as well as for other reasons, Israel is a key country in the Middle East. On the other hand, in terms of its size and population, Israel must be considered as a small country measured on the world scale.

Only Two Great Powers

Looking at the world today in the light of the variables I have referred to, it appears that there are really only two great powers — the United States and the U.S.S.R. They are the only countries which are at the same time immensely strong in economic, military and political terms and have the capacity to exert their strength all over the world. They alone — at least in the immediate future — have the supreme ability to exchange intercontinental nuclear annihilation. It is probably more accurate to refer to the United States and the Soviet Union as "super-powers".

I doubt that there is much point in attempting to classify those nations which are not super-powers. The fact of the matter is that the vast majority of countries have the capacity to exert *some* influence on the international scene, either in their own geographical area or in the world in general, or in one functional field or another, and therefore they fall into an indeterminate classification. We are nearly all middle powers, apart from the two giants at the one end and, at the other, a certain number of very small states which are not capable of exerting influence to any significant degree.

The capacity of the super-powers to affect the destiny of other nations is so great that middle powers must clearly be vitally concerned about the policies of the U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R. Middle powers have a right and a duty to seek to influence the actions of the super-powers. This influence is likely to be more effective if middle powers can find ways to act collectively. Indeed, it might be taken as a general rule for middle and small powers that they can be most effective in almost every field of international activity if they act together.

Sometimes a middle power may be able to play a special role in a situation where the super-powers, locked in contest for world-wide influence, dare not

make a move. Such cases are rare, however, and their importance should not be exaggerated. Canada's initiative over the Suez affair in 1956 is sometimes cited as an example of this role for a middle power, but there were very special circumstances at that time.

Canada's Power Status

I have arrived by this somewhat circuitous route at the acknowledgement that Canada is probably a "middle power", however we define that term. We have become a nation with significant economic weight. We have a population of 21 million and a gross national product approaching \$70 billion, and our economy is growing at a steady rate. We offer a market of considerable proportions for the products of other countries. In a number of products we are one of the leading producers and exporters. We have resources that are attractive to capital from outside our own country. We have a prosperous economy that enables us to make a substantial contribution to international activities and development. In short, we are an economic power.

We also have an appreciable military capacity. It is not great in terms of the super-powers, but our forces are well-trained professionals — volunteers, not conscripts. They are equipped with modern weapons and capable of very effective employment in selective situations.

Canada also has a considerable capacity for political and diplomatic influence. We are a respected country in most parts of the world and in the United Nations and other international organizations. This is, perhaps, because we have no history of domination over other lands and no historic grievances to trouble our relations with other peoples.

Profound Changes in Canada

The last few years have seen profound changes in Canada's orientation towards the rest of the world. Traditionally, Canada's external relations have been focused on the United States and Western Europe, for reasons that are obvious in terms of Canada's historical national interests. The changes that have come about reflect changes that are taking place in Canada as much as changes that are taking place in the international environment. In the last decade, there has been a tremendous surge of social dynamism in Canada's French-speaking community, and particularly in the Province of Quebec. This was long overdue and has not come about without putting great strain on national unity. The effects of this new force in Canadian political life have not yet been absorbed. I don't think they ever will be or should be. For too long, Canada, with one-third of its population linguistically and culturally French, and another third of varying origin, has presented a predominantly Anglo-Saxon face to the international community.

The second great influence for change in Canada affects your country as well. It is the attitude of the rising generation. My generation in Canada was

brought up with a clear perception of the United States and of our roots in Western Europe; the rest of the world existed in a kind of mist — we knew it was there, we contributed our pennies to send missionaries to the heathen. The new generation, brought up to be at home in the new age of instantaneous communications, sees the whole world in sharp focus. They seem to share Henry Ford's view that "history is bunk". Historical perspective appears to have little meaning for them; they see things in terms of the present. Disregarding the historical perspective, they seem to have little faith in the future. Action now is what they call for. Governments all over the world are feeling the effects of these new attitudes — nowhere more than in Canada, with more than 65 per cent of its population under the age of 35.

It isn't an easy time for governments, and it isn't an easy time for foreign ministers. In the democratic countries, governments must take into account new attitudes at home and try to come to terms with them in shaping foreign as well as domestic policy. Democratic or not, governments must try to keep up with rapid changes in the international community. In this environment, there is no way for Canada to creep under the friendly umbrella held up by the United States, there to be sheltered from the worst of the weather. Bombarded by domestic and international forces that we cannot control, we must find our own place to stand, and stand there as best we can. We do not stand alone, we stand next to the United States, our closest friend and ally, but in our own way.

It is to come to terms with these new forces that Canada has been reviewing its foreign and defence policies. Some observers at home and abroad are suggesting that the process is taking too long. I don't think so. It isn't an easy process and it isn't a process that can be hurried. As always happens in these circumstances, the process of review itself is having effects on the development of our foreign policy. What we are seeing and what we shall see is not so much change of direction as enlargement of interest; not withdrawal, but diversification. Our relations with you will continue to be of first importance. After an exhaustive study, we have reaffirmed our strong support for the NATO alliance, and remain as a full member. It is true that we are reducing our component in the NATO forces stationed in Europe. This represents our new assessment of the realities of the situation in Europe and in Canada and, in the end, our appreciation of our own priorities and national interests. We are not "bugging out" of NATO or retreating into isolationism or continentalism. Our approach to the Peking Government is perhaps the most visible and dramatic evidence of enlargement. Less obvious and less exciting, but just as important, are our new initiatives in *francophone* Africa, our growing contacts with Japan and other countries in Asia, our new approach to the Latin American countries, our developing dialogue with the Eastern European powers and the steady increase in our aid to developing countries.

This is quite a catalogue for a middle power, and it is by no means

exhaustive. Looking, on the one hand, at our global sphere of activity (like the United States, Canada is at once an Atlantic, Pacific, Arctic and American nation) and, on the other, at our limited resources, it is not surprising that we turn to the multilateral institutions as a means whereby we hope to foster our objectives. We look, for example, to NATO to help maintain the precarious balance upon which global security rests and as an instrument to further the *détente* that must come if our common security is to be more surely based.

Above all we have looked to the United Nations. In my speech in the general debate at the current Assembly, I expressed as frankly and as cogently as I could the profound uneasiness Canada feels about the present and future effectiveness of the organization. The speech seems to have touched a sensitive nerve, since it has been referred to and reinforced by subsequent speakers in the debate. The United Nations must strengthen and renew itself if it is to deal with the problems of the present and the future, if it is to keep the peace and improve the conditions of life on earth. It is the member nations that will determine whether or not this is to be done. Canada is now engaged in setting out some of the practical steps that can be taken to overcome the weaknesses and difficulties besetting the organization. I made plain to the General Assembly that Canada makes its criticisms as a loyal member of the United Nations and that our faith in the capacity of the organization to renew itself is unimpaired.

An Independent Foreign Policy

There is a tendency in my country to equate an independent foreign policy for Canada with a policy at variance with that of the United States — by some, indeed, as a policy opposed to that of the United States. Similarly, I have observed in the United States a tendency to feel disappointed when Canadian foreign policy on a specific issue differs from yours, as though your best friend had let you down. May I suggest that these are superficial views.

As Canadians, we run the risk of confusing difference from the United States with independence. In the United States, you may run the risk of looking upon our genuine independence as lack of sympathy with or understanding of the responsibilities of a super-power.

Canada has no pretensions to world power or influence. We strive to live within our resources and to use those limited resources to advance the interests we hold in high esteem, the most important being world peace and development. At the moment we are reassessing our role and redefining our objectives.

So is the United States, if I read the signs right. The review of your foreign policy may not be quite so explicitly undertaken as is ours, but the reasons are much the same. The world is changing; the United States and Canada are changing with it. These changes have to be assessed in order to determine how our countries can best pursue their natural interests in the years to come. I shall not be surprised if our respective foreign policies tend in the future, as in the past, to complement one another, notably in pursuit of world peace and development.

Canadian Totem-Pole Presented to New Zealand

TWO HUNDRED years after the first landing in New Zealand by Captain James Cook, a totem-pole was presented by Canada to New Zealand to mark the bicentenary. On October 10, the ceremony was held in Gisborne, a center of some 30,000 on the east coast of the North Island. Here it was that Captain Cook made his first landing in October 1769, following the sighting of land from the masthead by a ship's boy called Nick. The headland he sighted, which lies at one extremity of the harbor, has been known ever since as Young Nick's Head.

In 1969 Gisborne became the focal point of a national memorial event. Cook, though his voyage led to no immediate settlement, put New Zealand literally on the map, since his charts and maps of its coastal waters and coasts were characterized by a high degree of accuracy. Another 70 years were to pass, however, before New Zealand was officially declared a British possession and organized settlement began. A Canadian parallel can perhaps be seen in the first voyage of Jacques Cartier in 1534, followed some 70 years later by settlement under Champlain.

Since the Cook bicentenary was a major New Zealand event, the Canadian Government wished to honor the occasion by presenting an appropriate gift to the people of New Zealand. As fellow members of the Commonwealth, as trading partners and as Pacific nations, Canada and New Zealand share many links — among them a common indebtedness to the work of Captain Cook. Many years before his first Pacific voyage, he had established a reputation with his charts of the St. Lawrence River and the waters off the east coast of Canada. Following his voyages to New Zealand and Australia, he explored the west coast of Canada. He has thus an honored place in the histories of Canada and New Zealand, as well as in those of Australia and many of the Pacific islands.

The choice of a totem-pole as a national gift was dictated by a desire to present something characteristic of Canada's Pacific coast, which would at the same time point up the relation between Canada and New Zealand as Pacific nations and remind the viewer of Captain Cook. It is known that, after his appearance on the coast of what is now British Columbia, totem-poles were carved bearing Cook's likeness. He might well have seen totem-poles during his exploration of the coast. Indeed, some experts claim to see an affinity between the rich carving of New Zealand's Maoris and the work of Canada's west coast Indians.

Origin and Design

A distinguished Indian carver, Douglas Cranmer of Vancouver, who blends traditional Indian designs with those of his own invention, was commissioned



The totem-pole presented by the Canadian people to the people of New Zealand on the occasion of the bicentenary of the landing of Captain James Cook on the North Island is inspected by children of the city of Gisborne, where the pole was erected.

to do the pole, which is patterned on but, for tribal and artistic reasons, is not an exact copy of, one that was carved by the Muchalat Indians, part of the Nootka tribe of the west coast of Vancouver Island, following Captain Cook's visit to that area in 1778. The figure at the bottom of the pole is a symbolic representation of Cook himself and the bird at the top is an eagle, a fitting emblem for a great explorer.

Canada's participation in the Cook bicentennial celebrations included a visit by three destroyer-escorts of the Second Canadian Escort Squadron, HMCS *St. Croix*, *Saskatchewan* and *Qu'Appelle*. The pole was carried to Gisborne by *St. Croix* and set up in a park on a concrete base prepared by the municipal authorities. The bronze plaque on the base, which was cast in Canada, carries the following inscription:

Canada presented this Indian totem-pole to New Zealand in October 1969 to mark the 200th anniversary of the arrival in New Zealand of Captain James Cook, whose contributions as navigator and explorer forged an historical link between the two countries. The totem-pole is emblematic of those Captain Cook would have seen on his final exploratory voyage along Canada's west coast. This gift from Canada was carried to Gisborne by the Canadian destroyer HMCS *St. Croix*.

Describing his first sight of the pole upon his arrival in Gisborne two days before the presentation ceremony, the Canadian High Commissioner to New Zealand, Mr. R. M. Macdonnell, writes:

"When I arrived in Gisborne on the morning of October 8, the pole was firmly and majestically in place, already attracting many visitors. It was interesting to observe the reaction of a party of some 60 schoolchildren, mainly Maori. Wood-carving is a highly-developed traditional Maori art, and these children immediately proceeded to run their fingers over the wood to get an impression of texture. The weather was fine (as it continued to be on October 9, the day of the main national ceremonies) and the totem-pole was a point of major interest for the thousands who had come to reinforce the population of Gisborne for the bicentennial."

Presentation Ceremony

On October 10, the totem-pole was presented to Prime Minister Keith Holyoake of New Zealand by Mr. Macdonnell, who read the following message from Prime Minister Trudeau:

"I am delighted to have the opportunity to emphasize again so soon after your return to New Zealand from Canada the need which we have both expressed to develop still closer the ties between our countries. Canada and New Zealand have much in common, not least a concern for the development and prosperity of the Pacific area. In fact, the main thing that separates us is distance, and distance can be overcome, as witness your visit to Canada and the presence of our naval ships at Gisborne today."

Prime Minister Holyoake expressed the thanks of the Government and people of New Zealand and requested the Mayor of Gisborne, Mr. H. H. Barker,

to accept the gift in trust for the people of New Zealand and to care for it. The Mayor agreed, adding the thanks of Gisborne for the privilege. The ceremony concluded with the Prime Minister unveiling the plaque at the base, which had been covered with the Canadian flag.

Mr. Macdonnell's description of the event contained the following informal passages:

"Earlier in the day, the Governor General unveiled a statue of Captain Cook at the top of a hill, the total elapsed time for the ceremony being three minutes, while the official party leaned against the wind to avoid being blown over a cliff. A Cabinet Minister informed me that Captain Cook had already unveiled himself twice before the ceremony started. As the Governor General hastily cut a ribbon to make it official, his umbrella blew inside out, providing one of the best news photos of the entire Cook bicentennial celebrations. At least we can claim that no official umbrella blew inside out at the Canadian presentation.

"Considering the weather, there was a surprisingly large crowd of well-wishers on hand, together with press, radio and television, which can only indicate goodwill towards Canada In addition to the Prime Minister and the Mayor and their wives, two Cabinet Ministers were present, and there was good representation from the city council and other local bodies; senior officials from Wellington and diplomatic colleagues also attended. Apart from those in official positions, there was quite a turnout of the general public, slopping through puddles to get a close look at the proceedings. I addressed them as friends, noting that they must be friends to have come out on such a day"

Consultative Committee of the Colombo Plan

TWENTIETH MEETING, VICTORIA, OCTOBER 1969

"We have determined to recognize and take up our responsibilities as a Pacific nation." These words of the Secretary of State for External Affairs, the Honorable Mitchell Sharp, received emphatic endorsement at the twentieth meeting of the Consultative Committee of the Colombo Plan for Economic Development in South and Southeast Asia, held in Victoria, British Columbia, from October 14 to 31, 1969. Delegates from 17 regional and six non-regional countries participated in the conference, which is held annually in one of the member countries.



The Secretary of State for External Affairs, the Honorable Mitchell Sharp (right) presents the inaugural address to the Consultative Committee. Sitting beside Mr. Sharp is Mr. J. G. Hadwen, Canadian High Commissioner in Kuala Lumpur and secretary-general of the conference.

The meeting was characterized by a remarkable spirit of innovation which made possible a number of significant reforms designed to adapt the structure of the Colombo Plan annual meeting to the challenges posed by the 1970s. Particularly useful discussions took place on issues of international development. A positive indication of the success of the Victoria meeting was the unanimous decision of member countries to extend the mandate of the Colombo Plan for an additional five years, from 1971 to 1976.

The annual meetings have correctly been described as the "heart and soul" of the Colombo Plan, and it was thus essential that delegates have every opportunity for substantive discussions concerning co-operative economic development programs being carried out in South and Southeast Asia. As all aid within the Colombo Plan is organized on a bilateral basis, the conference affords a unique opportunity for donor and recipient countries to consult on aid policies and on further development of existing projects and identification of new areas requiring assistance. Since the initial meeting in Colombo in 1950, both the application and the membership of the Plan have expanded so that the total net flow of resources between member countries since the Plan's origin reached \$27,495 million (U.S.) by the end of 1968. During 1968 alone, the figure was \$2,445 million (U.S.), sufficient to make the Colombo Plan the world's most important regional organization in the sphere of development assistance. Because annual meetings are entirely the responsibility of the host governments, this remarkable amount of aid has been forthcoming from member governments without the existence of any permanent secretariat. The interim continuity of the Plan's operations is maintained by the small Colombo Plan Bureau, which reports to quarterly meetings of the Colombo Plan Council, composed of representatives of member countries meeting in Ceylon.

Result of Careful Planning

The achievements of this year's Colombo Plan meeting can be attributed directly to the groundwork laid at the Rangoon (1967) and Korea (1968) meetings and to the energy with which representatives of member governments worked to revise both the organization and the philosophy of the Colombo Plan. The organizational structure which permitted the smooth functioning of the conference was the result of careful planning initiated even before Canada was formally designated as the site for the 1969 meeting a year previously at Seoul, Korea. The responsibility for organizing the conference fell to the Canadian International Development Agency, which established a secretariat "team" headed by Mr. M. N. Burden, who became deputy secretary-general (administration). Mr. J. G. Hadwen, Canadian High Commissioner in Kuala Lumpur, was appointed the secretary-general of the Colombo Plan conference, a position which entailed ultimate responsibility for both the organization and direction of the annual meeting. Assisting him as deputy secretary-general with special responsibility for conference proceedings was another officer of the Department of External Affairs,

Mr. F. G. Livingston. In the preparatory period leading up to the conference, the staff of the secretariat grew to approximately 30. Once the annual meeting began, the total number of persons employed in all categories reached almost 200, including representatives of the Departments of Finance, Industry, Trade and Commerce and External Affairs, together with a substantial number of staff recruited in British Columbia.

The success of the 1969 conference was in large part a product of the excellent co-operation offered by the provincial authorities in British Columbia. The Legislative Chamber of the British Columbia Legislative Buildings was put at the disposal of the conference, and provided a suitably stately setting for the formal plenary sessions. The Colombo Plan was also most fortunate to become the first occupant of the just-completed British Columbia Archives Building, which not only served as headquarters for the secretariat but also, together with the Legislative Buildings and rooms in the new Provincial Museum, offered highly satisfactory premises for ministerial meetings and committee sessions. The Archives and the Museum are both part of British Columbia's impressive Canadian centennial project. Delegates to the conference were accommodated in the Empress Hotel, which had the particular advantage of being very close to the location of conference business activities, thus largely eliminating the necessity for elaborate transportation arrangements. The "Empress" also served as a first-class focal point for many of the social activities surrounding the conference.

In his message of welcome to delegates, Prime Minister P. E. Trudeau drew a parallel between the necessity for assisting the peoples of less-developed nations and the domestic requirement for improving the standard of living in economically less-fortunate regions of Canada. By the same token, the importance attached by provincial governments to the objectives of the Colombo Plan was demonstrated by the inclusion in the Canadian delegation of Mr. L. J. Wallace, Deputy Provincial Secretary of British Columbia, and Mr. E. Mercier, Special Adviser for Agriculture to the Executive Council of Quebec. Both provincial representatives made solid contributions to the achievements of the conference through participation in committees and plenary sessions.

Canadian Attendance

The emphasis placed on the Colombo Plan conference by members of the Federal Government was reflected in the attendance of three Cabinet Ministers — the Honorable Mitchell Sharp, Secretary of State for External Affairs, the Honorable Arthur Laing, Minister of Public Works, and the Honorable Horace A. Olson, Minister of Agriculture. Furthermore, the House of Commons Standing Committee on External Affairs and National Defence was represented by Mr. J. M. Forrestall, M.P., Mr. Bruce A. T. Howard, M.P., Mr. B. Keith Penner, M.P., and Mr. Marcel Prud'homme, M.P.

At the beginning of the preliminary week of experts' meetings, the secretary-general, Mr. Hadwen, advanced an "old Canadian saying" as his prescription for a

successful conference, urging delegates to "work like beavers and be wise like owls". The experts went on to demonstrate a capacity for applying both these qualities in their painstaking examination and revision of the studies of economic progress submitted by member countries.

This edited material was made ready for further consideration during the officials' meeting, the opening plenary session of which took place in the Legislative Assembly on October 20. The Honorable W. A. C. Bennett, Prime Minister of British Columbia, delivered an address of welcome in which he pointed out the historic involvement of British Columbia with the nations of Asia, and stressed his government's firm support for the Canadian Government policy of reinforcing communications with the countries of the Pacific towards the objective of "a sustained and constantly growing connection of benefit to all our peoples", thus pledging British Columbia's commitment to the objectives of the Colombo Plan. Mr. Bennett further announced that the occasion of the Colombo Plan conference would be commemorated in a plaque placed in the open area surrounded by the buildings of British Columbia's centennial project, renaming the area "Colombo Place". Dr. George Davidson, President of the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation, opened the information officers' conference on the same day, emphasizing the important relation between public opinion and the notion of international economic aid.

Throughout the week of the officials' meeting, Mr. M. F. Strong, President of CIDA and leader of the Canadian delegation, served as chairman of both the plenary sessions and the key Business and Economic Review Committee. He was able to maintain the momentum of conference business while allowing the maximum free expression on issues confronting delegates. The conference was also fortunate in the valuable contribution of the major committees, which included the Technical Co-operation Committee under H. E. Dawa Tsering, Minister of Development for Bhutan, the Special Topic Committee, chaired by Mr. Basil Bolt of New Zealand, the information officers' conference, chaired by H. E. Mohamed Sopiee of Malaysia, and the *ad hoc* working group of the BERC, chaired by Mr. David Loos of Ceylon.

Mr. Sharp's Statement

At the beginning of the Consultative Committee meeting at the ministerial level on October 28, the leader of the Canadian delegation, the Honorable Mitchell Sharp, was elected chairman. In his address of acceptance, Mr. Sharp expressed Canada's pleasure at being permitted to act as host to the 1969 Colombo Plan conference. In assessing the high degree of effectiveness achieved by the Plan in changing times, Mr. Sharp said:

I think the spirit of the Plan has changed too. It was conceived as a partnership, but I think it is true to say that in the early years the relationship was one way, from the donors to the recipients. We have learned something from the passing years — that development is a two-way street and that the developed countries are gainers from developing countries too.

In closing, Mr. Sharp alluded to the recently-published report of the Commission on International Development chaired by the Right Honorable Lester B. Pearson, entitled *Partners in Development*. He stated that the Commission's report "offered a challenge to the developed and developing countries alike, a challenge that must be taken up by governments of all the nations if the development community of which I have spoken is to have the tools needed for the job it has in hand".

In a special plenary formal session of the Consultative Committee held on October 29, ministers and delegates listened to an address by Mr. Pearson in which he described a 6 percent growth-rate in gross national product as the minimum acceptable target in all developing countries for the 1970s. He went on to say that the Commission endorsed the designation of 1 percent of GNP (including both official and private flows) as the minimum acceptable level of development assistance from the more economically-developed countries. In



*Mr. Pearson autographs a copy of his report *Partners in Development* for the Honorable Dr. Kee Hyong Kim, Korean Minister of Science and Technology.*

addition, however, it had been concluded that the flow of official transfers in the sphere of government aid alone should reach 0.7 percent of the gross national product of each donor country by 1975. Mr. Pearson noted that the general conception of economic aid for development had been successful since the Second World War and that the Colombo Plan illustrated the achievements of developing countries with the co-operation and help of developed countries. He also discussed changes in the form and volume of aid which would be required in the conditions of the 1970s.

Meeting with Mr. Pearson

Following the adjournment of the special plenary session, ministers and delegates had an opportunity for informal discussions with Mr. Pearson in which the major recommendations contained in *Partners in Development* were examined. Mr. Pearson indicated that efforts were already under way to achieve understanding and implementation of the Commission's recommendations by means of discussions at international meetings and bilateral conversations with individual developed and developing countries. He further stressed the fact that one of the most immediate objectives must be the promotion of a climate in public opinion which properly appreciated the necessity and nature of increased development assistance. In expressing their appreciation of the outstanding contribution achieved by the Commission's report, representatives of member governments indicated their interest in discussing its application whenever opportunities arose.

For the rest of the week, the Consultative Committee concerned itself largely with an exchange of views on some of the important issues affecting development in Colombo Plan countries. Among the subjects analyzed were: the improvements in agricultural productivity often referred to as the "Green Revolution"; capital investment in developing countries; terms and conditions of aid; technical co-operation; the effective employment of development resources; and the future role of the Colombo Plan. The reports of committees which met during the two weeks preceding the ministerial meetings provided useful additional material for consideration by the ministers. These included the report of the Technical Co-operation Committee, which dealt with matters such as the problem posed by migration of qualified personnel from countries of the Colombo Plan region and the report of the Special Topic Committee, which presented recommendations under the heading "Administration for Co-operative Aid under the Colombo plan". The report of the information officers' conference (an integral part of the Consultative Committee meeting) included such recommendations as the adoption of a Colombo Plan crest and the approval of its use on a light blue background as a flag for the organization. Of particular significance was the decision that the main purpose of the Colombo Plan Bureau Information Department should be to act as a clearing-house for the transfer of information between member countries, instead of attempting to achieve a direct impact on the public.

Major Structural Changes

The report of the Business and Economic Review Committee, the senior committee below the ministerial level, provided the foundation for the major structural changes to be incorporated in future Colombo Plan conferences. Among its decisions was the conclusion that the preliminary week of experts' meetings should be eliminated, with the resulting requirement that the analytical economic review or "country" and "contributions" chapters submitted by member governments be presented in publishable form for inclusion in the annual report. They will also provide a source of relevant material for incorporation in the chapters dealing with the entire Colombo Plan area. Furthermore, the ministerial meeting will, in the future, be limited to three days, to be preceded by a week of officials' meetings. Rounds of formal prepared statements will no longer be made at Colombo Plan meetings but will be replaced by private informal discussions of current topics of concern to both developed and developing countries. It was also agreed that the arrangements evolved at the 1967 Rangoon and 1968 Seoul conferences for the more effective conduct of business during the annual meetings had proven successful and should be continued. The Consultative Committee accepted the recommendation that a group be established to consider revisions in the constitution and the rules of the Colombo Plan Council for presentation to the annual meeting for approval.

The final plenary session of the 1969 Consultative Committee meeting was called to order shortly after noon on October 31. Following the adoption of the draft annual report, the Consultative Committee accepted the invitation of the Government of the Philippines, which offered to be host to the 1970 conference. The ministers and delegates listened to His Royal Highness Sardar Sultan Mahmoud Ghazi, President of the Civil Aviation and Tourism Authority of Afghanistan, express his appreciation of the effectiveness with which the conference had achieved its objectives and the particular value of the informal ministerial discussions on major issues. The closing plenary session was also addressed by His Excellency G. S. Peiris, High Commissioner for Ceylon to Canada, who summarized some of the conference's most significant attainments and paid particular tribute to the contributions of Mr. Sharp, Mr. Strong and Mr. Hadwen. Mr. Peiris concluded by describing both the aspirations and challenges inherent in the Colombo Plan:

We look back encouraged by the developments in recent years. We look forward with courage and in the hope that the development drama which is unfolding before us will not be a tragedy, not, a "tale of two sectors", but a saga of co-operative endeavor which will culminate in the goal for which we are all striving — a better life for all the peoples of our world.

A close study of the decisions taken at Victoria cannot help but lead to the conclusion that the structure of the annual conference has been completely reorganized and the nature of Colombo Plan co-operation thoroughly reviewed. Of even greater significance, however, was the constructive re-thinking of aid policy and development assistance ideas to which ministers and delegates were

able to devote so much attention during the Victoria meeting. On Canada's behalf, Mr. Sharp made it clear that the aid program had benefited from the meeting, and it was equally evident that the ministerial representatives attending from other countries had found the exchanges valuable in reassessing their future development policies. The Victoria meeting contributed to the new ideas, new plans and new policies which the demands of international economic development will place on the member countries of the Colombo Plan in the 1970s. As stated in the Ceylonese delegate's concluding summary of the meeting's achievements, "the Colombo Plan has come of age".

The Parliamentary Centre for Foreign Affairs and Foreign Trade

(This article was written by the Director of the Centre.)

ON OCTOBER 21, 1968, the Parliamentary Centre for Foreign Affairs and Foreign Trade first opened its office. Thus began a unique experiment — a privately-financed, non-governmental organization established expressly and almost exclusively to assist Members of Parliament and Senators with an interest in international questions in broadening their understanding of Canada's position and problems in the world.

The staff consisted at first of the founder and Director, Mr. Peter Dobell, and Miss Irene Murray, but such has been the demand for its services from a Parliament that is itself innovating in major ways that the office has grown to five full-time and three part-time employees. The development of a major role for standing committees of Parliament is central to the changes taking place in the manner in which Parliamentary business is conducted, and it is thence that the principal demand for assistance has emerged.

Rationale

The establishment of the Centre is posited on the assumption that elected representatives in a democratic society are expected to watch over the government of the day and keep it up to the mark.

It was considered that, to do this effectively, Members of Parliament should have easily accessible and reliable means of informing themselves. Because of the complex, and at times remote, character of international problems, this is not easy in any country. But in Canada the difficulties seem to be particularly great, in comparison, at least, with the position of legislators in the United States and Europe. Several factors may account for this situation : (1) Because of the size of our country and the sometimes scant coverage of international events by the press (with notable exceptions), many newly-elected Members of Parliament would not themselves claim a developed and specialized understanding of international questions. (2) Canada has had an international role for only a little more than a generation, so that it is only now beginning to develop a pool of men and women with international experience. (3) The fact that Ottawa is not a metropolitan centre may be the most important consideration. London and Paris have many residents, outside of government, with a wide range of international experience, with whom British and French Members of Parliament interested in international questions naturally associate. Canadian Members of Parliament do not enjoy the same advantages in this respect as their British and French counterparts.

It was this situation that led Mr. Dobell, who had spent 16 years in the Department of External Affairs, to conclude that what was needed was an institution adapted to the special conditions in Canada and designed specifically to help Members of Parliament develop their understanding of Canada's international position. Mr. Dobell attaches particular importance to the word "understanding". The need, as he sees it, is not simply to organize the flow of information to Members of Parliament. Many Members feel the need of assistance in acquiring a sufficient grasp of the fundamentals of international questions to be able to interpret the considerable amount of information to which they are exposed.

This aim also influenced the method of work. The Centre was not intended to be a research organization. The Canadian Institute of International Affairs, the United Nations Association and the universities are already filling that need. It was not to be a briefing organization, responding, as does the Legislative Reference Section of the Library of Congress, to requests for background reports or information to be used in speeches; the Library of Parliament already provides this service on a modest scale. It was believed that the aims of the Centre could best be achieved through organizing discussion groups for Members of Parliament, carefully prepared so that busy Members would gain the maximum benefit from a minimum of time expended. Although officials would be the principal source of information, the format of the meetings would ensure that Members took an active part in the discussion, in this way developing their understanding much more than by listening passively to a briefing. Fundamental to this conception is the notion that learning comes through participation and that, ideally, in such a situation, all participants benefit.

Parliamentary Committees

The coincidence of the Parliamentary Centre's establishment with the opening of a new Parliament, operating under new rules of procedure, has led to a much closer involvement of the Centre with the work of Members of Parliament than had earlier seemed possible. The activity of standing committees, in particular, is not only transforming the way in which Parliamentary business is conducted but has given back-benchers in the House of Commons and Senators an opportunity to make a direct contribution that has rarely been available in earlier Parliaments.

This changed situation has influenced the activities of the Centre. Instead of being involved largely in organizing discussions of general interest but not, perhaps, of immediate relevance to Members concerned with developing specific capacities, the Centre has been asked to act, on an experimental basis, as adviser to the Standing Committee of the House of Commons on External Affairs and National Defence, as well as the Senate Committee on Foreign Affairs. The director is available to all Committee members individually on a non-partisan basis, though in practice he works in the main with the chairmen and steering groups of the two Committees. He advises both on possible sources of information

— witnesses, written material, and agencies (governmental and non-governmental) that can be approached for information — and on the possible organization of studies undertaken by consultants retained by the Committees.

Since the director's appointment as adviser in January, the House Committee has investigated and reported on NATO and NORAD. It is now about to begin an extensive study of relations between Canada and the United States. In addition, subcommittees are currently studying Canada's maritime forces, development assistance, and the role of the United Nations in the maintenance of peace.

The appointment as adviser to the Senate Committee was made in February, when that body began its current study of Canada and the Carribean. At the request of the Committee, the Centre recruited a research assistant to do background studies and to assist in the analysis of material submitted to the Committee.

Parliamentary Delegations

The second major area of activity of the Centre involves delegations to conferences of interparliamentary associations such as the North Atlantic Assembly, the Inter-Parliamentary Union and the Commonwealth Parliamentarians Association. The Director has been asked to organize briefings in order to prepare Parliamentary delegates to participate in the conference sessions, for which they have little time to prepare. Moreover, in contrast with ministerial delegations, Parliamentary groups are not normally accompanied by expert officials. The irector's aim has been to organize briefings designed to meet the specific needs of the delegates. In practice, these briefings are usually given by officials. The contribution which the Centre strives to make is to work with the briefing officials, whose experience is normally based on the briefing of Ministers, to ensure that the material is related to the conference agenda and is presented in the form most useful to the delegates.

In addition to organizing briefing programs for several Parliamentary delegations, the Director accompanied Parliamentary delegations to the NATO Parliamentarians' Conference in Brussels (November 1968), to the Council of Europe's Consultative Assembly in Strasbourg (May 1969), to Czechoslovakia (May 1969), and to the meeting of the Canada-U.S. Interparliamentary Group in Ottawa (June 1969).

Assistance to Members

The third field of activity of the Centre has consisted of the organization of discussions unrelated to immediate Parliamentary activity and the provision of assistance to individual Members of Parliament with specific requests for information. Although this was, at the outset, expected to be a significant role, the two activities described above have pre-empted most of the time of the Director and his staff. When Members of Parliament do request information, the Centre is usually able to help by referring them to institutional or governmental sources, or, on occasion, by providing the information directly.

Scope of Activities

Under its Charter, the Parliamentary Centre exists to provide assistance in all areas of external activity. This involves, in addition to foreign policy in the traditional sense, foreign trade, defence, development assistance, and, increasingly, all areas of policy with international implications. The result is great variety; in a typical week the Centre may be involved in meetings or briefings concerning NATO, the Caribbean, peace-keeping, the effect of defence expenditure on national income in the Atlantic Provinces, oil and wheat exports, the obstacles posed by new United States immigration regulations for Canadian businessmen, and international currency problems. In practice, the subjects are determined largely by the agenda of the Parliamentary committees and of the interparliamentary conferences.

Support and Organization

The success the Parliamentary Centre has had so far is mainly due to the broadly-based support that was given to the initial proposal for the establishment of the organization, and, later, to the confidence of Members of Parliament and public servants in its independent status.

From the beginning, support was given to the project by the then Prime Minister, Mr. Pearson; the then Secretary of State for External Affairs, Mr. Martin; the then Minister of Trade and Commerce, Mr. Winters, and Mr. Stanfield and Mr. Douglas. Later, the new Prime Minister, Mr. Trudeau, and the new Secretary of State for External Affairs, Mr. Sharp, also gave the project their wholehearted support. Most significant was the endorsement of the Centre by the Speaker of the House of Commons, Mr. Lamoureux — an endorsement that was accompanied by a grant in support of the Centre's operation during an initial five-year trial period.

The legal status of the Parliamentary Centre is that of a charitable organization, since it provides its services to Members of Parliament without charge. It is supported financially by a grant from the Speaker of the House of Commons (40 per cent of the budget), a fee from the Canadian Institute of International Affairs (20 per cent) for services rendered to that organization and contributions by some 20 Canadian private corporations (40 per cent). This division of financial support has been a deliberate decision to ensure the autonomy of the Centre and to maintain the confidence of the Parliamentarians it serves.

The composition of the Board of Directors (Mr. A. D. P. Heeney, President; Senator John Aird; Senator Jacques Flynn; Mr. David Golden; Mr. Brian Crane) and the Advisory Committee (Mr. Andrew Brewin, MP; Professor H. E. English; Mr. Gordon Fairweather, MP; Mr. Jean-Pierre Goyer, MP; Mr. David Groos, MP; Senator Allister Grosart; Mr. Ian Imrie; Mr. Pierre O'Neil; Professor Louis Sabourin; and Mr. Anthony Westell) has also, it is believed, helped to ensure the confidence of Parliamentarians.

The Centre is in the Royal Bank Building on the Sparks Street Mall, a

location that provides easy access to Parliament while ensuring full independence.

Although the actual success of the Parliamentary Centre in achieving its objectives has not been, and cannot adequately be, assessed at this early stage in its existence, demand for its services is continually increasing. For the Centre the main question to be determined (and it is still too early to decide) is whether, at the end of the five-year trial period, the organization can or should be established on a permanent basis. Whether this is done or whether alternative techniques are evolved for carrying out the functions the Parliamentary Centre for Foreign Affairs and Foreign Trade is now fulfilling, the Centre considers that the record already shows the work can and should be done.

Postscript

The Parliamentary Centre is associated with, but is independent of, the Canadian Institute of International Affairs. The Director acts as Ottawa representative of the CIIA and the *Monthly Report on Canadian External Relations* of that association is edited by Mr. Julian Payne, the Director's executive assistant.

Visit of Mr. Sharp to the Middle East

The following statement was made to the House of Commons by the Secretary of State for External Affairs, the Honorable Mitchell Sharp, on November 19, 1969 :

... I rise to report upon my visit to the Middle East, which took place last week.

Canada has been closely concerned in Middle Eastern affairs since we participated in the activities of the United Nations Special Commission on Palestine, which drew up the Palestine partition plan of 1947. We voted for the United Nations resolution setting up the State of Israel in 1948. Recognition of the right of the State of Israel to exist remains an essential feature of our Middle Eastern policy. At the same time, we try to maintain an objective approach to the current problems of the area. Our essential objective is that all states there should be enabled to live in peace and security, free from threats of war or territorial encroachment.

For two decades, Canada has had military personnel in United Nations peacekeeping operations in the area. Canada is also the third-largest contributor to the United Nations agency working for the relief of the Arab refugees.

Our Middle Eastern policy has largely found expression through the United Nations in New York. It was there that we took part in the steps which led to the birth of the State of Israel; it was there that the United Nations Emergency Force was established. More recently, as a member of the Security Council, it was there that we took part in drafting Resolution 242 of November 1967, the resolution that we feel offers the best available framework for progress toward peace in the area.

My visits were a reflection of our long involvement in the affairs of the Middle East, in response to invitations from the Foreign Ministers of Iran, Israel and the United Arab Republic, and in return for visits paid to Canada by the Shah of Iran, the President, the late Prime Minister and Foreign Minister of Israel, and the Foreign Minister of the United Arab Republic. More particularly, I wished to learn at first hand the attitudes and policies of the governments concerned with regard to the Arab-Israeli conflict.

Conflict of Interests

I return from my visit both saddened and discouraged. Prime Minister Meir and President Nasser both told me that they seek a peaceful solution to the Arab-Israeli conflict. It is very hard to see how useful negotiations can begin when the preoccupations of the parties are in direct confrontation. Israel is preoccupied with the security of its boundaries and its insistence upon direct negotiations with its neighbors. The United Arab Republic is preoccupied with the withdrawal of Israel to its pre-1967 boundaries and the fate of the Arab

refugees. I can see no immediate resolution of this confrontation.

When I went to the Middle East, I had no solution to offer and no proposals to make; I went to inform myself on the situation as seen by Iran, a nation which does not take sides, and by the two main protagonists. In every country visited we were received with great courtesy by the head of state, the principal minister and the foreign minister. In each country, the heads of state and their ministers devoted many hours to concentrated conversations. The views I expressed in outlining Canadian policy were given thoughtful consideration and the questions I asked answered fully and forthrightly. Wherever I went, I found a manifest wish to have Canada understand the positions taken. This reminds us of Canada's special standing as a peace-seeking and peace-making nation and is evidence, perhaps, of the need for understanding on the part of the nations in conflict.

Countries Visited

My first visit was to Iran, where I saw a nation preoccupied with the advancement of its economy and the improvement of the conditions of life of its people. Its geographical location requires Iran to be intimately involved in the problems of the Middle East. I found a nation some 6,000 miles from Canada, in the heart of the Middle East, pursuing a Middle Eastern policy closely parallel to our own. In my subsequent visits, I found my discussions in Tehran most useful both for the information I drew from them and for the political attitudes expressed.

In Israel, I was moved, as anyone must be, by the sense of pride in nationhood that characterizes that country, and deeply impressed by what has been achieved in nation-building in 20 years. In Egypt, I saw a nation where the evidences of ancient glory are very much present, contrasting cruelly with the present-day struggle to evolve a better standard of living for its people.

The situation in the Middle East today is tragic. There is so much to be done in that part of the world and the will and technology are there. The tragedy is that, in so many of the countries, the resources needed for development are tied up in an arid confrontation which threatens to burst into violent conflict.

A Deep Disquiet

I left the Middle East with a profound sense of disquiet. Effective negotiation is not an immediate prospect. Escalation of the conflict is an immediate danger. In these circumstances, perhaps the best role for Canada to play in the foreseeable future is that of an understanding, compassionate and objective observer, ready to assist if and when there is a specific task for us to undertake at the instance of both sides.

Let us hope that, notwithstanding the present difficulties, counsels of moderation will prevail, and that someday, somehow, peace will come to the Middle East.

It would not be appropriate in a statement on motions to review in detail the bilateral discussions we had in each capital. There are great trading opportunities, particularly with Iran and Israel, and some important possibilities with the United Arab Republic. All three countries are eager for increasing contact with us. Perhaps one of the ways we can help is to be more of a presence in the Middle East, a part of the world that needs friends and cherishes friendship.



Visit of the Burmese Foreign Minister

COLONEL the Honorable Maung Lwin arrived in Ottawa on October 14, 1969, for a two-day official visit before going on a private visit to several centers in Canada en route to the Colombo Plan Consultative Committee meetings in Victoria, British Columbia, at the end of the month. His visit was the occasion for a number of official meetings and social gatherings at which relations between Canada and Burma were discussed and views exchanged on international affairs. The Minister of Foreign Affairs held discussions with Canada's Secretary of State for External Affairs, the Honorable Mitchell Sharp, the Minister of Industry, Trade and Commerce, the Honorable Jean-Luc Pepin, and the President of the Canadian International Development Agency, Mr. Maurice Strong. He was the guest of honor at a dinner given by Mr. Sharp, and returned the hospitality by holding a lunch for Mr. Sharp. Colonel Lwin was received at Government House by Governor-General Roland Michener.

Trade Contacts

Relations between Canada and Burma have been limited, in part because of the great distance between the two countries (Rangoon is 9,000 miles from Vancouver). Bilateral trade is light and irregular, occasionally approaching an annual figure of \$1 million, but currently hovering below \$500,000 a year. Recently the balance has been more than two-to-one in Canada's favor.

There has, however, been greater co-operation with respect to development assistance, and this formed the subject of much of the discussion during Colonel Lwin's visit. To the end of last year, Canadian aid to Burma had amounted to more than \$7 million, the largest single project involved being the Thaketa Bridge across the Irrawaddy River at Rangoon, which was completed early in 1967 at a cost of \$1,667,756. An earlier project had provided the Rangoon General Hospital with a cobalt-therapy unit. As part of Canada's technical assistance program, more than 150 Burmese students have attended Canadian universities. There are currently 21 trainees studying in Canada.

Aid Plans

Colonel Lwin thanked the Secretary of State for External Affairs for Canada's past aid to Burma and presented the CIDA with certain detailed requests for future assistance. He noted that similarities between Canada's natural-resource base and that of Burma made Canadian technical skills particularly useful in Burmese development. As a result of discussions here, Canada has undertaken to provide capital and technical assistance for the establishment of a maintenance depot for Canadian-built forestry equipment. The value of this project is in the neighborhood of \$250,000. Technical assistance to the Burmese mining industry is now under study.

Canadian Contribution to UN Development Program

MR. BRUCE I. RANKIN, Canadian representative at the pledging conference of the United Nations Development Program for 1970 on October 9, announced, subject to approval of the Canadian Parliament, a 20 percent increase in Canada's contribution to the United Nations Development Program for 1970. The amount will be the equivalent of \$16.2 million (Cdn), and will bring to over \$100 million the total amount pledged by Canada to the Development Program and the programs that preceded it.



Mr. Bruce I. Rankin, Canadian representative to the 1969 pledging conference of the UN Development Program, signs the Final Act of the conference. Looking on (left to right) are: Mr. C. V. Narasimhan (India), Deputy Administrator, UNDP; Mr. Paul G. Hoffman (U.S.A.), Administrator, UNDP; and Mr. Juan Gallardo (Mexico), President of the conference.

The International Labor Organization

INTERNATIONAL LABOR STANDARDS

AN assembly-line worker in a Canadian auto plant casts a vote in favor of having a union represent him and his co-workers; a factory tradesman applies for unemployment insurance benefits during a temporary lay-off; a provincial legislature proclaims a law banning discrimination in employment because of race, color or sex.

While these situations can be readily recognized as examples of rights enjoyed by workers in highly-industrialized Canada, less known, perhaps, is the important contribution made to their establishment by the International Labor Organization.

Founded in 1919 as an autonomous body within the framework of the League of Nations, the ILO is a tripartite body composed of government, worker and employer representatives from 118 countries. While the scope of its activities has broadened considerably, particularly since it joined the United Nations family in 1946, the Organization still continues to carry out its basic function as a labor standard-setter.

The international standards formulated and administered by the ILO take the form of conventions and recommendations. Both have varying degrees of influence on member countries. Conventions are actually international treaties which impose specific obligations on countries that ratify them, while recommendations are, as the word implies, less formal codes or guides, which ILO members can use in establishing services or regulations.

From Convention No. 1, calling for an eight-hour day and a 48-hour week, passed at the first International Labor Conference at Washington in 1919, the ILO has adopted a total of 128 conventions and 132 recommendations. Taken together, they have come to be known as the International Labor Code. While some of these standards have relevance only for certain countries (the seamen's conventions would apply only to countries with merchant fleets), the great majority of them deal with matters which have universal application. These include freedom of association, fair employment practices, abolition of forced labor, the protection of women and young workers, safety and hygiene, hours of work, paid vacations, social security schemes, workmen's compensation and labor-management relations.

Drafting a Convention

A great deal of advance planning and research go into the preparation of subject matter for a convention. Involved are all three of the ILO's components — the annual International Labor Conference in Geneva, the Governing Body

and the permanent secretariat, and the International Labor Office.

Initiation of a convention proposal falls to the Governing Body, and in this decision it is guided by wishes expressed outside and within the ILO by governments, workers' and employers' organizations, and surveys carried out by the Labor Office. Once the Governing Body decides to act on a proposal, it seeks the detailed views of member countries on all aspects and a discussion outline is drawn up for consideration at the next Conference.

At the Conference, the proposal is first considered in detail by a technical committee and then presented to the plenary session. A two-thirds majority is required for adoption, with the combined labor-management vote equalling that of government representatives. Once adopted, after discussion at two Conferences, the proposal becomes a convention, which imposes fundamental obligations on the member countries.

Whether they are in agreement or not, a country's representatives are obliged to submit the convention — within a period of 12 to 18 months — to their national legislature and report back to the ILO on the decision taken.

In a federal state such as Canada, a convention is also sent to the provincial governments for consideration before ratification is discussed, if the area covered by it is one where both federal and provincial governments have jurisdiction.

When consent is given to a convention by a country's legislature, formal notice of ratification is sent to the ILO's Director-General, who then notifies the United Nations and member countries. Ratification, of course, carries with it the obligation to enact legislation to put the provisions of the convention into effect.

Flexibility of Standards

Obviously, the preparation of subject matter for conventions and recommendations presents the problem of ensuring that they will be flexible enough to meet the needs of countries as widely divergent in social structure and industrial development as Canada and Bolivia or Sweden and the Sudan.

However, the ILO constitution allows for circumstances of this kind and these provisions are frequently invoked. For example, lower minimum-age standards for certain types of work are sometimes permitted in developing countries. Thus flexibility clauses help to make ILO standards applicable to the less-industrialized nations. On the other hand, to protect workers in highly-industrialized countries, the constitution provides that existing higher national standards shall not be affected by the ratification of a convention.

During the early history of the ILO, the high standards adopted were often considered to be more idealistic than practical. However, as time went by, more and more countries began to realize that, by helping to improve working conditions, protect human rights and promote industrial peace, labor standards added a new dimension to national growth and prosperity as well as to international co-operation.

It is this characteristic of the international standards that makes them still one of the principal sources of ILO influence throughout the world. Conventions and recommendations are always readily available to those who can profit from their provisions and suggestions. The potential benefit depends, however, on the extent to which those concerned with labor questions are familiar with the standards. Their true value, then, lies in the acceptance they receive not only from government officials, management and trade unions but from anyone concerned with labor and social problems.

Aerial Mapping Loan Agreement with Kenya

KENYA and Canada concluded on October 22, 1969, an agreement providing for a loan of \$500,000 (Cdn) [K£172,000] to be made to Kenya for the purpose of the aerial mapping of a large area of the southern part of the country. The agreement was signed on behalf of Kenya by the Minister for Finance, the Honorable J. S. Gichuru, and on behalf of the Canadian Government by the High Commissioner for Canada, Mr. J. Murray Cook.

The loan is to be interest-free, and has been offered for a period of 50 years, including a grace period of ten years. These very "soft" terms are designed to minimize the burden of repayment for Kenya.

Canada has allocated through the Canadian International Development Agency \$3 million in development-loan funds to be drawn upon by Kenya for specific projects; and the aerial-mapping loan agreement is the first of such projects. The Canadian program of assistance to Kenya has in the past concentrated on the provision of teachers and experts to Kenya and the training of Kenyan personnel in Canada, and this element of Canadian assistance has now reached a level of approximately \$2 million a year. Canadian grant assistance to capital projects in Kenya since 1964 has totalled approximately \$1,200,000.

The mapping project is to be carried out by a consortium of experienced Canadian companies led by General Photogrammetric Services of Ottawa and including Spartan Air Services, also of Ottawa, and McElhanney Surveying and Engineering of Vancouver. The Consortium will photograph an area of approximately 11,500 square miles bounded by a line extending from near Machakos west to a point south of Narok, then south to the Tanzania border, along the border to a point near Oloitokitok, east to Tsavo on the main Nairobi-Mombasa road, north then west to Sultan Hamud, and finally north to Machakos. It is expected that the aerial photography will be carried out during January, February and March 1970. The photographs will be sent to Canada, where maps will be compiled from them. The maps will be sent to the Survey of Kenya for printing and distribution. A photographic mosaic of the mapped area will be provided for the use of the Ministry of Agriculture and other interested ministries.

Visit of African Public Service Trainees

THE Department of External Affairs provided a training program during October and November 1969 for five African public servants under the auspices of the United Nations Institute for Training and Research (UNITAR). The program was arranged by the Department's United Nations Division and financed by the Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA).

In the photograph below, from left to right : Mr. J.C. Mbezi, Tanzania; Mr. A. Neewoor, Mauritius; Mr. B. Notegeye, Rwanda; Mr. C. Vadamootoo, Mauritius; Mr. J.M. Happy-Tchankou, Cameroun.



External Affairs in Parliament

Ratification by U.S. and U.S.S.R. of Non-Proliferation Treaty

The following statement was made in the House of Commons on November 24 by the Prime Minister, the Right Honorable Pierre Elliott Trudeau :

Mr. Speaker, seldom does a Prime Minister of Canada rise in the House of Commons to comment on activities undertaken by foreign governments. Nevertheless, the simultaneous steps taken this morning by the United States and the Soviet Union are of such importance to all of mankind that I regard it as entirely proper to use this opportunity to bring them to the attention of all Honorable Members, all the more so as, in my statement at the beginning of the session, this is what the Government of Canada asked these two governments to do.

At 11 o'clock this morning, the Governments of the United States and the Soviet Union announced their intention to deposit forthwith instruments of ratification of the non-proliferation treaty, a step which our Government and other governments have been urging for some time. This event will, we hope, precede the coming into force of the treaty, which Canada and 20 other countries have already ratified.

I am sure that Honorable Members will join me in welcoming this important decision and in hoping that it will be followed by others of similar importance during the strategic arms limitation talks now being held in Helsinki.

Shipment of Relief Supplies to Secessionist Nigeria

On November 25, Mr. Trudeau rose to reply as follows to several questions concerning Canada's provision of relief to "the secessionist areas of Nigeria" :

... Because it is desirable to set forth in a single statement the several aspects of Canadian efforts in this regard, the following brief chronological record has been prepared:

(1) In October 1968, Canadian Forces *Hercules* aircraft were despatched to the Nigerian area for use in carrying relief cargoes to Biafra. One of those aircraft joined the night airlift, the hazards and inefficiencies of which were then and have always been recognized.

(2) In late October 1968, my personal representative, Professor Ivan Head, journeyed to Lagos for discussions with the Nigerian Head of State, General Gowon, about the possibilities of additional relief shipments. It was as a result of that Canadian initiative that the Nigerians agreed to permit daylight relief

flights subject to only a single condition, an undertaking by Colonel Ojukwu that he would not take advantage of the situation and fly in arms during daylight hours.

(3) The proposal for daylight flights on these terms was transmitted through the International Committee of the Red Cross and other channels to Colonel Ojukwu. When, in November, no reply had been received from Colonel Ojukwu, and the Nigerian Government announced that it could no longer guarantee the safety of aircraft flying into Biafra at night, the Canadian Government withdrew its aircraft. Canada stated at that time that it would consider replacing the aircraft once appropriate daylight delivery arrangements were concluded.

(4) Not until June 1969, some eight months following the announcement of the daylight relief flight proposal, did the Biafran authorities comment officially upon it. Not even then did Biafra accept the idea of daylight relief. It only said that, subject to five conditions, it would be "willing to consider" daylight flights.

(5) Since early 1969, and with the knowledge of the Nigerian Government, contacts have been made and discussions about relief and other measures subsequently held by Canada with representatives of the Biafran regime. The Secretary of State for External Affairs has spoken with Biafran authorities in New York; various Canadian officials have met with Biafran representatives in London, Ottawa, Geneva and New York, and are continuing to do so in one or more of these places whenever it appears appropriate to do so. It is in this light, Mr. Speaker, that my statement of last week must be viewed when I said there had been contact at the ministerial level. This contact was made at New York; of course there have been other contacts at the official level in the various capitals, as I have just said.

(6) In an effort to overcome the delivery difficulties, the Canadian Government has consulted continuously with a number of other donor governments which make up what is known as the Hague Group. It has consulted as well with the United States Government. That Government, early this year, took the recognized lead in Nigerian relief activities when President Nixon appointed Ambassador Clyde Ferguson as his official representative to co-ordinate humanitarian assistance to Nigeria.

(7) In June of this year, I sent my representative back to Nigeria to ensure that General Gowon's single condition for daylight flights remained unchanged. Professor Head then journeyed to Tanzania on my behalf to speak to President Nyerere, the leader of an African country which had recognized the independence of Biafra, about all aspects of the Nigerian situation.

(8) On July 10, in an attempt to meet Biafran contentions that daylight flights would prejudice its military position, the Secretary of State for External Affairs offered to send Canadians to the area to act as inspectors of relief cargoes.

(9) In the early summer, the International Committee of the Red Cross began negotiations in Geneva in an attempt to solve the flight impasse, which by then had reached a critical point as the Nigerian Air Force increased its efforts to prevent night flights of arms from reaching Uli. After one of its aircraft was shot down, the ICRC halted its night flights.

(10) A Red Cross proposal for daylight flights (I repeat, Mr. Speaker, this whole business of daylight flights was begun as a result of Canadian initiative — the whole idea was brought up as result of Canadian initiative which followed upon our obtaining from General Gowon his consent to such flights) a Red Cross proposal for daylight flights was given to both Nigerian and Biafran representatives in Geneva on August 1. Biafra accepted the proposal in principle on August 14 but made its acceptance subject to the condition that it would continue to use Uli airport for its own operations. The Biafrans offered no evidence that they were prepared to meet the single Nigerian request that arms not be flown in during daylight hours. The paper setting out “technical modalities” of daylight flights, drawn up by Professor Freymond of the ICRC and Dr. Cookey of Biafra, and circulated by the Biafran authorities, must be read in light of this Biafran condition.

(11) In late summer, the ICRC sent a team of representatives to Nigeria in an attempt to conclude a daylight relief agreement with both sides, no agreement having been reached with either side up to this point. On September 13, the Federal Nigerian Government and the ICRC reached an agreement for an internationally-inspected and militarily-inviolable daylight relief airlift. The agreement included, at Nigerian insistence and in reply to the Biafran condition for what amounted to daylight military use of Uli airport, a clause that the agreement should be without prejudice to military operations by the Nigerian Government.

(12) The Biafran regime refused to conclude an agreement with the Red Cross. Biafra, instead, demanded in a press statement dated September 15 “a third-party guarantee which will ensure that daylight flights are not used to military advantage by Nigeria”. The statement continued to say that “the only guarantee acceptable to Biafra is that of a third government or international organization of a political character”.

(13) The Governments of Canada and the United States immediately attempted to provide assurances to meet this understandable Biafran fear of military disadvantage. Discussions toward this end took place in Ottawa and in Washington and involved officials of the Prime Minister’s Office and the Department of External Affairs and officials of the White House and the Department of State. Included in these discussions as one element of these assurances was a proposal for Canadian observers to travel on board relief aircraft.

(14) Canadian officials subsequently met with Biafran representatives in Geneva. Ambassador Ferguson, who had been agreed upon as the person

who should convey formally these offers, travelled to Africa. As set forth in the Washington statement, dated November 12, 1969, the Biafran authorities, on October 24, formally rejected the offers which were designed to protect Biafra from military disadvantage, which is exactly what they had asked for.

(15) Canadian officials in Geneva have been informed by Biafran representatives that Biafra demands more than military assurances; that, in addition, guarantees of a political nature are required in order to break the impasse. The Canadian Government is not willing to give the political guarantees demanded, as these would be tantamount to recognition of an independent state of Biafra, and an overt interference by Canada in the political affairs of another country, contrary to the resolutions of the Organization of African Unity.

(16) During the past several weeks, the Secretary of State for External Affairs has continued his discussions about Nigeria with some 25 other foreign ministers, many of them from African nations, at the United Nations. I talked to Secretary-General U Thant about the problem in New York on November 11, as I had a year earlier. Canadian leaders have pursued the Nigerian issue with the leaders of two African countries who have visited Ottawa this fall. They were President Hamani Diori of Niger and President Nyerere of Tanzania. I can say that the unanimous view of these African leaders is that the Organization of African Unity resolutions must be respected.

(17) The Government is now considering, as stated a few days ago, alternative means of delivering relief to Biafra in daylight. It does so while agreeing entirely with the recent statement of United States Secretary of State Rogers:

Daylight flights under agreed procedures... remain the only practicable scheme for an immediate and substantial expansion of relief operations.

(18) The Government's concern remains, Mr. Speaker, as it has throughout, and as does that of Honorable Members opposite and indeed all Canadians, with the innocent civilian victims of this tragic war. Delivering adequate food and relief supplies to these people must be our resolve, notwithstanding the disinclination of the Ojukwu regime to accept it except in return for political advantage.

APPOINTMENTS, TRANSFERS AND RESIGNATIONS IN THE DEPARTMENT OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS

- Mr. A. J. Andrew, Canadian Ambassador to Sweden, assigned to Toronto University, effective July 14, 1969.
- Mr. E. J. Bergbusch posted from Ottawa to the Permanent Mission of Canada to the Office of the United Nations, Geneva, effective August 21, 1969.
- Mr. D. M. Miller posted from Ottawa to the Office of the High Commissioner for Canada, London, effective August 27, 1969.
- Mr. B. A. Keith resigned from the Department of External Affairs, effective August 29, 1969.
- Mr. R. Duhamel appointed to the Department of External Affairs as Senior Officer 3, effective September 1, 1969.
- Mr. G. J. Wilson posted from Ottawa to the Canadian Embassy, Bangkok, effective September 11, 1969.
- Miss B. M. Meagher, High Commissioner for Canada in Kenya, appointed Canadian Ambassador to Sweden, effective September 16, 1969.
- Mr. G. Parent posted from the Office of the High Commissioner for Canada, London, to the Canadian Embassy, Abidjan, effective September 17, 1969.
- Mr. M. B. Phillips posted from the Canadian Embassy, Addis Ababa, to Ottawa, effective September 17, 1969.
- Mr. J. A. Gagnon resigned from the Department of External Affairs, effective September 19, 1969.
- Mr. R. D. Jackson appointed Canadian Commissioner to the International Commission for Supervision and Control in Laos, effective September 19, 1969.
- Mr. J. R. McKinney, High Commissioner for Canada in Trinidad and Tobago, appointed Canadian Ambassador and Permanent Delegate to the OECD, Paris, effective September 19, 1969.
- Mr. J. L. Paynter posted from the Canadian Embassy, Moscow, to the Office of the Canadian Trade Commissioner, Hong Kong, effective September 19, 1969.
- Mr. E. T. Galpin posted from Ottawa to the Office of the High Commissioner for Canada, Islamabad, effective September 22, 1969.
- Mr. W. G. Brett appointed to the Department of External Affairs as Foreign Service Officer 5, effective September 22, 1969.
- Mr. C. S. Gadd posted from Ottawa to the Canadian Embassy, Quito, effective September 22, 1969.
- Mr. J. P. Higginbotham appointed to the Department of External Affairs as Foreign Service Officer 1, effective September 22, 1969.
- Mr. S. F. Carlson posted from the Delegation of Canada to the International Commission for Supervision and Control in Vietnam to the Office of the High Commissioner for Canada, Port-of-Spain, effective September 23, 1969.

- Mr. J. C. Britton, Canadian Ambassador to Thailand, posted to Ottawa, effective September, 24, 1969.
- Mr. J. M. Cook appointed High Commissioner for Canada in Kenya, effective September 26, 1969.
- Mr. M. Gauvin, Canadian Ambassador to Ethiopia, appointed Canadian Ambassador to Portugal, effective September 26, 1969.
- Mr. C. J. Woodsworth, Canadian Ambassador to South Africa, appointed Canadian Ambassador to Ethiopia, effective September 26, 1969.
- Mr. J. Simard posted from Ottawa to the Office of the High Commissioner for Canada, Kuala Lumpur, effective September 28, 1969.
- Mr. E. A. Willer posted from Ottawa to the Office of the High Commissioner for Canada, Dar-es-Salaam, effective September 29, 1969.
- Mr. A. W. Sullivan posted from the Canadian Embassy, Port-of-Spain, to Ottawa, effective October 1, 1969.
- Mr. L. J. Edwards appointed to the Department of External Affairs as Foreign Service Officer 1, effective October 1, 1969.
- Mr. R. L. Rogers, Canadian Ambassador to Israel, appointed Deputy High Commissioner for Canada to Britain, effective October 2, 1969.
- Mr. H.-C. Ahrens posted from Ottawa to the Office of the High Commissioner for Canada, Lagos, effective October 3, 1969.
- Mr. R. H. Davidson posted from the Office of the High Commissioner for Canada, Dar-es-Salaam, to Ottawa, effective October 4, 1969.
- Mr. R. E. Turenne posted from Ottawa to the Permanent Delegation of Canada to UNESCO, Paris, effective October 8, 1969.
- Mr. L. H. Leduc posted from the Office of the High Commissioner for Canada, Lagos, to Ottawa, effective October 10, 1969.
- Mr. C. J. Small, High Commissioner for Canada in Pakistan, appointed concurrently Canadian Ambassador to Afghanistan, effective October 12, 1969.
- Mr. M. R. Quinn resigned from the Department of External Affairs effective October 17, 1969.
- Miss P. A. Macoun posted from the Canadian Embassy, Bangkok, to Ottawa, effective October 19, 1969.
- Mr. H. H. Carter, Canadian Ambassador to the Republic of South Africa, appointed concurrently High Commissioner for Canada in Lesotho, effective October 23, 1969.
- Mr. J. W. Currie posted from the Office of the High Commissioner for Canada, Georgetown, to Ottawa, effective October 25, 1969.
- Mrs. M. Leon resigned from the Department of External Affairs effective October 31, 1969.

EXTERNAL AFFAIRS

INDEX TO VOLUME XXI

JANUARY TO DECEMBER 1969

- Africa *see* Francophonía, Individual countries and Visits
- Algeria *see* Visits
- Armenia *see* Visits
- Arts (*see also* New Zealand)
Canadian culture in Italy, 295, 376
Montebello conference, 354
National Arts Centre, 243
Toronto Symphony in Japan, 274
- Asia *see* Individual countries
- Atomic Energy
Controls discussed at UN, 123
Non-proliferation treaty, 51, 462
- Australia *see* Trade and Visits
- Britain *see* Visits
- Burma *see* Visits
- Burundi
Relations with Canada, 319
- Cameroun *see* Visits
- Canadian Cultural Institute in Rome *see* Arts
- China
Pacific power (Sharp), 197
Relations with Canada, 143
- Colombo Plan *see* External Aid
- Commonwealth (*see also* Individual countries and Visits)
Prime ministers meet, London, 58, 102
- Costa Rica
Relations with Canada, 137
- Council of Europe *see* External Affairs
- Culture *see* Arts
- Czechoslovakia
New Canadian Ambassador to, 127
Visit of Canadian Senators, 310
- Defence
Policy (Trudeau), 214, 249
- Economic and Social Council *see* Specialized Agencies
- Europe *see* External Affairs and Individual countries
- External Affairs (*see also* History)
Canada and Europe, 80, 362
Departmental merit award, 101
Foreign policy (Trudeau), 249 (Sharp), 269
Middle East visit by Mr. Sharp, 451
Middle-power role of Canada, 110, 428
Missions closed, 385
Parliamentary Centre for Foreign Affairs and Foreign Trade, 446
Provinces and foreign policy, 387
Throne Speech, 384
Vatican post opened, 419
- External Aid
Aerial mapping agreement with Kenya, 460
Colombo Plan Consultative Committee, 438
Kainji Dam opens, 170
Malaysian aborigines, aid to, 33
Vietnamese children, gift to, 44
- Food and Agriculture Organization *see* Visits
- France (*see also* Africa and Francophonía)
Franco-Canada Interparliamentary Association, 88
Franco-Canadian Joint Commission, 173
- Francophonía
Martin visit to francophone Africa, 93
Niamey conference, 216
Niger and Canada, 399
Senegal and Canada, 395
- Germany *see* Visits
- History
Canada at Versailles, 321
Riddell Affair, The, 366
- Human Rights
International Year for, 86
- India
Parliamentary Speaker exchange with Canada, 119
- International Labor Organization *see* Specialized Agencies
- International Law (*see also* Science)
Rule of (Sharp), 183
- International Maritime Consultative Organization *see* Specialized Agencies
- International Sugar Agreement *see* Trade
- Italy *see* Arts

- Japan (*see also* Arts and Trade)
 Canada-Japan Ministerial Committee, 194
 Maple trees, gift of, 318
 Pacific power (Sharp), 195
- Kenya *see* External Aid
- Laos
 Infiltration reported, 143
- Latin America (*see also* Individual countries)
 Canada and the countries of, 257, 284, 360
 Ministerial mission led by Mr. Sharp, 15, 131
- Libya
 Relations with Canada, 134
- Malaysia *see* External Aid and Trade
- Mauritania
 Relations with Canada, 221
- Middle East *see* External Affairs
- New Zealand (*see also* Trade and Visits)
 Totem-pole gift, 434
- Niger *see* Francophonía
- Nigeria *see* External Aid
- Nixon, President *see* United States
- North Atlantic Treaty Organization
 Ministerial meeting, 2, 207
 Mr. Sharp on, 159
 Twentieth anniversary, 204
- Olympics
 Canadian representation in Mexico, 98
- Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development
 Agricultural meeting, 46
 Ministerial Council meets, 167
- Parliamentary Centre for Foreign Affairs and Foreign Trade *see* External Affairs
- Peace-keeping
 Statement by Canada's UN representative, 21
- Pollution
 Human environment, 36
- Protein Report *see* Specialized Agencies
- Red Cross
 International conference, Istanbul, 415
- Rhodesia
 New Canadian measures against, 85
- Rwanda *see* Visits
- Scandinavia
 Sharp tour, 297
- Science
 Canada-Germany, 309
 Senate Committee on Foreign Policy, 278
- Senegal *see* Francophonía
- Sharp, the Hon. Mitchell *see* China, External Affairs, International Law, Japan, Latin America, NATO, Scandinavia and United Nations
- Singapore *see* Trade
- Southeast Asia *see* Individual countries
- Specialized Agencies (*see also* Science and Visits)
 ILO, 259, 266, 315, 351, 377, 422, 457
 IMCO Assembly, 49
 Protein report to ECOSOC, 141
 UNESCO, 15th conference, 176
 UNHCR, 19
 WWW, 28
- St. Lawrence Seaway *see* United States
- Tanzania *see* Visits
- Trade
 International Sugar Agreement, 129
 Pacific Trade, 235
- Trudeau, Rt. Hon. P. E. *see* Commonwealth, Defence, External Affairs and United States
- Tunisia
 Relations with Canada, 182
- United Nations (*see also* Atomic Energy, Human Rights, Peace-keeping, Pollution and Specialized Agencies)
 Canadian contribution to development program, 456
 General Assembly sessions, 73, 328
 Senior officials visit Ottawa, 224
 Ultimate objects (Sharp), 405
- United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization *see* Specialized Agencies
- United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees *see* Specialized Agencies
- United States
 Niagara renovation, 296
 Nixon inauguration, 72
 St. Lawrence Seaway, 10th anniversary, 306
 Visit of Mr. Trudeau, 230
- U.S.S.R. *see* Visits
- Vatican *see* External Affairs
- Vietnam (*see also* External Affairs and Laos)
 Canada on International Control Commission, 198

Visits (*see also* Australia and United States)

African public service trainees, 461
Algerian administrative trainees, 357
Armenian prelate, 356
Australian Parliamentary mission, 276
Australian Prime Minister, 200
British Secretary of State for Foreign
and Commonwealth Affairs, 364
Burmese Foreign Minister, 454
Commonwealth Caribbean Governor
General, 150

FAO Secretary-General, 90
German Foreign Minister, 219
German Parliamentary delegation, 25
New Zealand Prime Minister, 413
Soviet Foreign Minister, 403
Tanzanian Prime Minister, 420

World Weather Watch *see* Specialized
Agencies

BINDING SECT. NOV 12 1970



3 1761 11552452 2